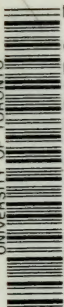



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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed therunto; and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING'S blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honorable

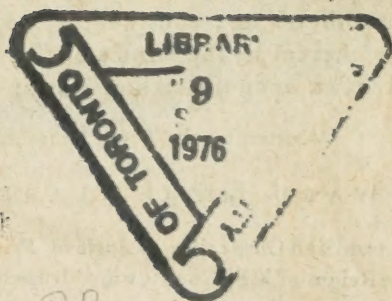
EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,
Late Lord High Chancellor of England, Privy-Counsellor
in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κλῆμα ἐς αἰς. Thucyd.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

V O L. I.

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P R E F A C E.

AT length comes into the World, *The First Volume of the History of the Rebellion, and Civil Wars in England, begun in the Year 1641, with the precedent Passages and Actions, that Contributed thereunto, and the Happy End and Conclusion thereof, by the King's blessed Restoration, and Return, upon the 29th. of May in the Year 1660; Written by Edward Earl of Clarendon, once Lord High-Chancellor of England, and Chancellor of the Famous University of Oxford.* The first of these great Dignities King Charles the Second had conferred on Him, whilst he was yet in Banishment with him; which he held, after the Restoration, above seven Years, with the Universal Approbation of the whole Kingdom, and the General Applause of all good Men, for his Justice, Integrity, sound Judgment, and Eminent Sufficiency in the discharge of that Office; a Praise, which none of his Enemies ever denied Him, in any Time: The Other He received from the Choice of the University, who, upon the Vacancy of that Place, by the death of the Marquis of Hertford, then Duke of Somerset, judged They could not better manifest their steadiness in the Cause for which They had suffered, and their Resolutions of adhering to their Old Principles, in support of the Church of *England*, and the Ancient Monarchical Government of this Kingdom, than in chusing to place the Protection of their Interest in both, under the care of One, who had so early distinguished

Himself, even From the first Approaches of the Civil War, in asserting and maintaining the distressed Rights of the Church and Crown.

This History was first begun by the express Command of King *Charles* the First, who, having a desire, that an account of the Calamities, God was pleased to inflict on the Unhappy part of his Reign, should be reported to Posterity by some worthy, honest, and knowing Man, thought He could not appoint any One more adorned with such Qualifications, than this Author.

It is a difficult Province to write the History of the Civil Wars of a Great and Powerful Nation, where the King was engaged with one Part of his Subjects against the other, and both Sides were sufficiently inflamed: And the Necessity of speaking the Truth of several Great Men, that were engaged in the Quarrel on either Side, who may still have very considerable Relations, descended from Them, now Alive, makes the Task Invidious, as well as Difficult.

We are not ignorant that there are Accounts, contained in this following History, of some Eminent Persons in those Times, that do not agree with the relations we have met with of the same Persons, published in other Authors. But, besides that they who put forth this History, dare not take upon them to make any Alterations in a Work of this kind, solemnly left with them to be published, when-ever it should be published, as it was delivered to Them; they cannot but think the World will generally be of Opinion, that others may as likely have been mistaken in the grounds, and informations they have gone upon,

as our Author; who will be esteemed to have had opportunities, equal at least with any others, of knowing the Truth; and by the Candor, and Impartiality of what He relates, may be believed not to have made any wilful mistakes.

However, all things of this Nature must be submitted, as this is, with great deference to the judgment of the equal Reader; who will meet, in his progress through this work, with many Passages, that, he will judge, may disoblige the Posterity of even well meaning Men in those days; much more then of such as were crafty, cunning, and wicked enough to design the mischiefs that ensued: But he shall meet with none of Malice, nor any but such as the Author, upon his best information, took to be Impartially true. He could not be ignorant of the Rules of a good Historian (which, Cicero says, *are such foundations, that they are known to every body*) *That he should Not dare to speak any Falshood; and should dare to speak any Truth.* And we doubt not, but through the whole progress of this History, he will be found to have given no occasion of suspecting his writings *guilty of partial favor, or unjust enmity*; and we hope, that the representing the Truth, without any mixture of private Passion or Animosity, will be so far from giving offence to any Ingenuous Man of this time, that it will be received rather as an Instruction to the present Age, than a Reproach upon the last.

Moreover, the Tenderneſs that might seem due, out of Charity, good Manners, and good Nature, to our Country-Men, our Neighbours, or our Relations, hath been indulged a long space of time;

and might possibly be abused, if it should not give way, at last, to the usefulness of making this work public, in an Age, when so many Memoirs, Narratives, and pieces of History come out, as it were on purpose to justify the taking up of Arms against that King, and to blacken, revile, and ridicule the sacred Majesty of an Anointed head in distress; and when so much of the Sense of Religion to God, and of Allegiance and Duty to the Crown, is so defaced, that it is already, within little more than fifty Years since the Murder committed on that Pious Prince, by some Men made a Mystery to judge, on whose side was the Right, and on which the Rebellion is to be charged.

We hope therefore it will be judged necessary as well as useful, that an impartial Account of the most material Passages of those unhappy times should at last come out; and that We shall have the general Approbation, for having contributed thus far to Awaken Men to that Honesty, Justice, Loyalty, and Piety, which formerly English Men have been valuable for, and without which it is impossible any Government, Discipline, or Authority can be long maintained.

There is no doubt, but this good King had some Infirmities, and Imperfections; and might thereby be misled into some mistakes in Government, which the Nation, in Parliament represented, might have reformed by moderate and peaceful Counsels. But the Reformation lost it's Name, and it's Nature too, when so many Acts passed by him in Parliament, that did restrain the Prerogative of the Crown from doing the Mischiefs it had been taxed with, had not

the effect they ought to have met with, of restraining the People too from farther demands; and when the inordinate Ambition, Anger, and Revenge of some of the great Leaders could not be limited within any Bounds, till they had involved the Nation in Blood, destroyed many Thousands of their own Country-Men, and fellow Citizens, and brought at last their own Sovereign to lose his Head on a Scaffold, under a pretended form of a High-Court of Justice, unprecedented from the beginning of the World; and, to Finish their work, had overthrown all the Laws of their own Country, in the Defence of which, they would have had it thought, they had been obliged to draw their Swords.

Without question, every body that shall duly consider the whole Account of these Transactions, will be able to impute mistakes, miscarriages, and faults enough to both Sides: And we shall leave them to their own sedate and composed Reflections. But We cannot omit making this one Observation, that where any King by ill Judgment, or ill Fortune, of his Own, or Those intrusted by him in the chief Administration of his Government, happens to fall into an Interest contrary to that of his People, and will pursue that mistake, that Prince must have Terrible Conflicts in the course of his Reign, which way soever the Controversy ends: On the other hand, that People, who, though Invaded and Oppressed in their just Rights and Liberties, shall not rest satisfied with reasonable Reparations and Securities, but, having got Power into their hands, will make unjustifiable Use of it,

to the utter Subversion of that Government they are bound in Duty and Allegiance to Support, do but at last make Rods for their own Backs, and very often bring upon Themselves, from other hands, a more severe Bondage than that they had shook off.

To demonstrate this General Observation, let it be considered in Particular, what was the Advantage this poor Nation gained from all the Victories obtained over King *Charles* in the Field, and, afterwards, in the Imprisoning, and Prosecuting him to Death: What amends did it make for the Infringement and Prejudice, they complained of, in their Rights and Liberties, to set up the Protector *Cromwell*, who, under a Thousand Artifices and Cruelties, intended no other Reformation, but, instead of Whips, to chastise the poor People with Scorpions; and, instead of their Idol Commonwealth, which some had vainly imagined to Themselves, to make himself that very hated thing, a King, which had been so abominable in his own Sight? And after him, what did all the other several sorts of Government, set up sometimes to gratify the Ambition of one Party, and sometimes of Another, end in, but so many several ways of Oppression; which, after many Years spent in Exhausting the Blood and Treasure of their Country, at length made way for the happy Restoration of the Son, and Family of that King (whom they had so Barbarously brought to an untimely End) with the utmost Scorn, and Derision of all that pretended to Rule in His stead?

Here We might descend into Particulars, to make

out the other part of our Observation, by giving Instances, how some of our own Kings have, unhappily, been led into very dangerous mistakes in their Government; and how many Years have passed almost in one perpetual Strife, and unfortunateContention between thePrince and thePeople, in Points of the highest consequence; and especially those, which have brought the Prince, sometimes, under the disadvantageous suspicion of being inclined to the love of Arbitrary Power, and favoring the Popish Religion; than which the most mortal Enemies to the Crown of *England* cannot possibly contrive, or wish, more miserable circumstances for it to be involved in. But We are rather desirous to draw a Veil over all the Calamities, that have proceeded from this Cause; as well because the impressions those mistakes have made, and the marks they have left behind them, will not easily be worn out; as that it might look like insulting over Their Misfortunes, who have been the Chief Losers by them; which We have, in no kind, the Inclination, or the Heart to do: Neither would we be thought to give Countenance, by what We write, to the Opinions of those, who would Justify the rising up in Arms of Subjects, to do themselves Right in any Controversy between them and their King.

Non hæc in Fædera —

The Nature of our excellent Government hath provided, in the Constitution of it, other remedies, in a Parliamentary way; wherein both the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Rights of the People

may be better secured : And besides, We know to whom Vengeance peculiarly belongs, and that He who challenges that Power to Himself, will not suffer it to be communicated to any other.

But We should think ourselves very fortunate, if, in the Reflections we have been making on this Subject, We have represented the Truth, on both Sides, with that Fairness and Impartiality, in the perplexed condition of our Own Affairs, that all Princes may see and judge, that it can never turn to their Advantage, to be in an Interest contrary to that of their People, nor to give their Subjects unreasonable Provocations. For (as in other Cases, where the Laws both of God and Man are too often broken, though very strict and positive, so in this point too) the People may not always be restrained from attempting by force to do themselves Right, though they Ought not.

And we hope no less, that the People will be convinced, that it were wiser and better for them, to obtain the Redress of their Grievances by such ways, as the Ancient Laws of this Kingdom have provided : And that the Constitution of King, Lords, and Commons, is the happiest Composition of Government in the World; and so suited to the Nature of *English* Men generally, that though it be expelled for a Time, yet it will return.

We would therefore heartily wish both for Prince and People, if either of them should be guilty of any irregular Deviations from their own Channels, that they who are injured would content themselves with gentle Applications, and moderate Remedies, lest the last error be worse than the first : And above all, that whosoever may have a thought of

Ruling in this Land, may be thoroughly convinced in his own judgment, that it is a Crown of Briers and Thorns that must be set on his Head, without he can satisfy all reasonable Men, that it is his fixed Principle and Resolution, inviolably to defend our Religion, and preserve our Laws.

Upon the whole matter, We have often wondered, and rest still amazed, that any Prince should care to govern a People against their Nature, their Inclinations, and their Laws. What Glory can it be to a Prince of a great Spirit, to subdue, and break the hearts of his own Subjects, with whom he should live properly as a Shepherd with his Flock? If two Lovers, who should pass their time in renewing, repeating, and returning all the Offices of Friendship, Kindness, Tenderneſs, and Love, were, instead of that, unluckily contriving always to Croſs, Oppose, and Torment one another, what could be the effect of ſuch a Converſation, but Vexation and Anguiſh in the beginning, a ſhort lived Correſpondence, and Hatred, and Contempt in the Conclusion?

Our Conſtitution is the main Point ever to be regarded; which, God be praiſed, hath been preſerved through ſo many Ages. For though there have been ſome Men often found, and of great parts too, who, for their private advantages, are aiding, ſometimes the Monarch, and ſometimes the Party that would be a Common-wealth; under ſpecious Pretences for the Public Good, to exceed the Limits the Conſtitution hath preſcribed in this Country; yet the Nation ſtill finds, in all Ages, ſome truly Public Spirits, that preſerve it from being long impoſed upon.

There is a craft, and a perpetual subtilty, that Men of private Interest must work with to support their own designs: But the true Interest of the Kingdom is the plainest thing in the World: It is what every Body in *England* finds and feels, and knows to be Right, and they are not long a finding it neither. This is that Interest, that is supported *Non tam fama, quam sua vi*; it's own weight still keeps it steady against all the Storms, that can be brought to beat upon it, either from the Ignorance of Strangers to our Constitution, or the Violence of any, that project to themselves wild Notions of appealing to the People out of Parliament (a Parliament sitting) as it were to a fourth Estate of the Realm; and calling upon them to come and take their share in the direction of the Public, and most Important Consultations. This We conceive to be another way of undermining the Ancient and true Constitution, but not like to be more effectual than some others, that have been tried before; since We have the experience that no violence, nor almost ruin, hath, hitherto, hindered it from settling again upon it's old foundation.

There hath been, within the compass of few years, much Talk, and, God knows, too many ill Effects too, of Factions in this Kingdom; and We have lived, in our days, to see the Two great Parties, of late known by the Names of *Whig* and *Tory*, directly change their ground; and those, who were formerly the Anti-Courtiers, become as pliant and obsequious, as ever They were who had been the most found fault with on that score. But We are humbly of opinion, that, at this time of

day, neither of those Parties have the Game in their hands, as they have formerly perhaps fancied to themselves. But they who shall be so honest, and so wise, constantly to prefer the true Interest of *England* to that of any other Country or People, preserve the Religion and the Laws, protect and promote the Trade of the Nation, thriftily and providently administer the public Treasure, and study to maintain the Sovereignty of our Seas, so naturally, so anciently, and so justly the true defence of this Kingdom; that Body, whomsoever it shall be composed of, shall have the Weight of *England* on it's side; and if there can be any of another frame, they must, in the end, prove so many miserable rotten Reeds.

Well may other Princes and States, whose Situation requires it for their own Security, find it their Interest, for the preservation of their Credit and Reputation amongst their Neighbours, to keep constantly in pay great Numbers of Land-Forces; in which they are still vying one with the other, and boasting who can raise his Thousands, and who his ten Thousands: but they will be found but Young States-men for our Government, who can think it advisable, that the Strength of this Island should be measured by Proportions so unsuitable to it's true Glory, and Greatness. As well might *David* have thought it requisite, when he was to encounter the great Giant of the *Philistines*, that He likewise must have had a Staff to his Spear like a Weaver's Beam. But that *Man after God's own heart* thought it more expedient to his advantage over the Enemy he was to contend with, to come against him with Arms that

he had tried, and that he could wield. When *Saul* armed him with his own Armor, *and put an Helmet of Brass on his head, and armed him with a Coat of Mail*, David himself says, *He could not go with these, for he had not proved them*. Which makes us a little reflect on the circumstances of our own Nation, That, whereas the Fleet of *England* hath been Renowned, through so many Ages, for the Honor and Security of this Kingdom, in these latter days, by an unaccountable improvidence, our care has been more industriously applied to the raising great Numbers of Land-Forces, than in Maintaining and Supporting the glorious Ancient Bulwarks of our Country; and when We have to do with an Enemy, whom We so far excel in strength at Sea, that, with a little more than ordinary application, We might hope to restrain his Exorbitant Power by our Naval Expeditions, We have employed our greatest Industry, and a vast Expence, to attack him by Land in that part, where, by the strength of his numerous Garrisons, he must be, for many Years, at least, invulnerable.

But it is to be hoped the Great Allies themselves, to whom, We doubt not, the *English* Nation wishes all Happiness and Prosperity, as being bound up with them in the same Interest, will at last be sensible, that this Kingdom cannot be useful to the Common Cause in any other way, so much as at Sea. The situation of this Country adapts it for Advantages by Sea: The Trade of it enables it to go on with a War by Sea: And neither of them can long bear a great Expence of a War in a Foreign Land: The experience of former Successes at Sea

makes the Nation ever fond of employing it's Vigor *there*: and the perpetual jealousy that, some time or other, Endeavours may be used, by the increase of Land-Forces, to advance another Greatness, and another Interest, will fix the Genius of the Nation still to depend on it's Greatness, and it's Security by Sea.

Suadere Principi quod oporteat, magni laboris; assentatio erga Principem quemcunque sine affectu peragitur, was a saying of *Tacitus*, and one of those that is perpetually verified. For We see, in all times, how Compliance and Flattery get the better of Honesty, and plain Dealing. All Men indeed love best those that dispute not with them; a Misfortune, whilst it is amongst private Persons, that is not so much taken notice of; but it becomes remarkable, and grows a public Calamity, when this uncomely obsequiousness is practised towards great Princes, who are apt to mistake it for Duty, and to prefer it before such Advice as is really good for their Service; at least till the folly, and vanity of such proceedings come to be seen through; and then the reward of their unseasonable Courtship frequently overtakes the miserable Authors, though the discovery come too late to preserve from ruin the Master, who hath been deluded.

An Eminent Poet of our own Nation calls this Flattery the food of Fools; and yet it is a Plant so guarded and fenced about, so cherished and preserved in all Courts, that it never fails of bringing forth much wretched fruit; and will ever do so, till God Almighty shall send such a discerning Spirit into the hearts of Princes, as may enable them to

distinguish between those, that serve to obtain their own Ends, and those, who have only in their View the true Interest, and Honor of their Masters; and to punish, instead of encouraging, those bold Corrupters of all right Judgment, Justice, Honesty, and Truth.

If at any time it might be hoped this dangerous Generation of Men should be discountenanced, one might be allowed to look for it in an Age, when a Revolution hath been thought necessary to make a Reformation: For where the Foundations of the Earth were taken to be out of Course, more steadiness, a stricter Virtue, and a more unblamable Administration will be expected to come in the Room of it.

If Princes would bear it, it would be an Advantage to Them, as well as Happiness to their Subjects, to hear plain and bold Truths, when delivered with Duty, and Decency, and Privacy, from their faithful Servants, in their own life-time; whilst they might yet redress, and correct any mistakes of their Judgment, or Will. But because they generally defend themselves from those Approaches by their Greatness, and the Awe they usually strike on those that come near them, the next best way to incline them to reflect duly upon themselves, is to get them to read the Memorials of Times past: Where They will see how those who have once Governed the World, are treated, when they are dead and gone; and that it is the Privilege, and Practice of all present Ages, to speak without restraint of those that are past: As, We may be confident, the next that

comes

comes after this We live in, will not forget to put their Stamp, and their Censure, on what they shall judge good, or bad, in any part of it. And this truth will be allowed in all times, that a great King, who is known to Govern in his own Person, who is not managed by his Ministers, but does Himself give the direction, the life, and determination to all his Commands, as he ought to have the Glory, and the Merit of his Conduct and Skill, brought to his own Account without a Rival, so he will have the Misfortune of having the errors of his Reign, if any there be, imputed likewise to Himself.

We have been led, from one step to another, farther than the scope of a Preface to this History might properly have drawn Us, were it not that the observation of the miscarriages in former Times, continued down by degrees, as we conceive, from the like mistake, and the like root of animosity and discontent, had engaged us to make some Remarks on the most eminent of them, and to lay them together in one view, for every Man's calm Judgement and Animadversion, as the best means, in our Opinion, to prevent any such for the future. Which makes Us hope the Reader will not be offended with some Excursions, upon publishing such a Work, that hath so much of Information and Instruction in it, that it must furnish to every one great variety of Reflections; and, amongst others, the observation of this particular, and almost continual Misfortune to all Princes, who are apt to think that, out of the great Numbers of their Subjects, and the Crowd of their Courtiers and Flatterers,

they can never want a supply of just and faithful Servants; which makes them so little value, and so often throw away their best and ablest Ministers; whereas there is in truth nothing so difficult for a Prince, as to find a good, honest, just, well tempered, and impartial Servant; and it is almost impossible to preserve him long. For whosoever comes to the Yoke of true painful drudgery in his Master's Service, from that moment creates to himself so many industrious Enemies, as he cannot gratify in all their several wild pretensions, to displace and destroy him. So that such a Man's Station must be extreme slippery, and his favor oftentimes short-lived, whose whole time being taken up in promoting the solid greatness of his Master, and the good of his Country, he cannot have leisure to take care of Himself. For whilst he is watching the Enemies of the State, and laying Foundations for the happiness of future Times, as well as for the security of the present, and looking after all the Parts of the Administration; that the Religion of the Land may be Reverenced; the Justice of the Nation Unblemished; the Revenues of the Crown carefully and honestly collected, and distributed with an equal hand of Generosity and good Husbandry, according to the several occasions that may require either; How can such a Minister be watching the secret Machinations of the Envyers, and Underminers of his Credit and Honesty? And therefore he may be forgiven, if, being conscious to himself of his own Integrity towards the Public, he contemns the little Arts of ill designing Men; by which however, from the first hour of his entering into the Service of his Master,

he is continually pursued, till he is at length hunted down, and unavoidably destroyed at Court.

We do not intend here to write the particulars of the Life of this Author; but We may say in short, that such a figure as is here described of a great and Superior Minister, and, in some degree, of a Favorite too, this excellent Man made, for about two years after the Restoration of the King his Master, who during that time, relied entirely on his Advice, and Conduct. There were indeed some other Great and Wise men, whom the King, for some considerable time, consulted in his weightiest Affairs. There was the Earl of *Southampton*, then Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, with whom our Author had always an entire and fast Friendship, and whom all Men, that knew him, honored for his great Abilities, and eminent Integrity. There was the Duke of *Albemarle*, then Lord General, who had the honor, and good Fortune of bringing most things, and Men, at that time to bear together, for the Restoration of that King, and the Royal Family to the Seat of their Ancestors. There was the then Marquis of *Ormond*, soon after his Majesty's Return made Lord Steward of the Household, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; who had not only followed, but even graced his Master's Fortunes, in all the time of his Exile, with the Attendance of so eminent, and meritorious a Subject; who had often ventured his Person, and lost all his Large Estate in the steady pursuit of Loyalty and Duty to the Crown, and Zeal for the true Religion. There was the Earl of *Sandwich*, who had, when Admiral, and General at Sea, to his share

the glorious part of bringing the Fleet of *England*; and the Body of the English Sea-men, to concur in the King's Restoration; and had, before that time, been very meritorious towards his Majesty, as is mentioned at large in the ensuing parts of this History. These were the principal; and besides these, there was one more, who, though in a different rank, was admitted, at that time, into the most intimate Trust and Confidence, Old Secretary *Nicholas*; who had served his two Masters, King *Charles* the first and second, with so much Faithfulness and Integrity, as to be justly entitled to a part in the most important Administration. But, without the least design of detracting from the Credit or Interest of these great, and honorable Persons, We may truly say, our Author had the preference of them all in the King's Favor and Esteem; and by his prudence, knowledge, and experience, in which he shared with the others, and his Indefatigable Labor and Pains, wherein, it is most certain, they did not share with Him, he had the Happiness, without their Envy, and with their Concurrence, to have the greatest share in disposing the minds of the People, and the King too, to agree then on such measures in Parliament, as laid the foundation of that Peace, Plenty, and Prosperity this Nation hath enjoyed since.

He had the Happiness to have the greatest share in preserving the Constitution of our Government entire, when the then present Temper of the People, was but too ready to have gone into any undue compliance with the Crown.

He had the happiness, amongst several other good

Acts of Parliament, to have the greatest share in compassing and perfecting the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity; the Act for confirming Judicial Proceedings; and the Act of Uniformity; by which the People of *England* were quieted in their Minds, and settled in their Possessions: and the Church of *England* redeemed from the oppressions it had lain under, and established and set up by the Law of the Land, as it was also by our blessed Savior's promise to all those that serve him in Holiness and Truth, on that Rock, against which the Gates of Hell were not to prevail. This is that Church, which desires to have her Doctrine understood, as well as obeyed; and which depends on the Infallibility of Scripture for her Guide; but never could be drawn to allow it to any Mortal Men, whether in a single Person, or a greater Number; and which, of all the Churches in the World, does most rationally inform her Members in the Practice of pure Religion and undefiled towards God, with Decency in Worship, without Affectation, Superstition, or Ostentation; and Obedience to the King, with due Regard to the Constitution, and the Laws of the Land. By God's blessing on these means, our Author had the happiness to leave lasting Monuments of his Judgment, and his Piety; of his Loyalty to his Prince, and his entire Love to his Country.

It was during the Ministry of this Person, and whilst he was in his greatest Credit, that memorable Expression was used, in one of King *Charles* the second's Speeches to both Houses: That in all his Deliberations and Actions, his principal Considera-

tion should be, What will a Parliament think of them?

Every Body then knew, by whose Advice that King was inclined to make that wise Declaration. And certainly it had been happy for him, if he had always practised it; and all *England* hath reason to wish, that all Ministers had continued, to this day, to give the like wholesome Counsel.

Hæ tibi erunt Artes,

Said our Author, to a King of *England*: Keep always well with your Parliaments. Let no vain whimsey of the Example of other Countries, but utterly impracticable in this, delude you. Keep always in the true Interest of the Nation; and a King of *England* is the greatest, and happiest Prince in the World.

How this Person came first to lessen in his Credit, and afterwards, in the space of about five Years, to fall quite out of that King's Favor, to be Disgraced, as the Language at Court is, and Banished, must be a little touched; and We shall make an end. They who were then most concerned in his Misfortunes, and felt the most sensible strokes of his Majesty's displeasure in their Family, have it not in their hearts to lay any thing hard at the Door of that King, once a most gracious, and indulgent Master to our Author, and who was certainly not of a Disposition to do harsh things to any Body; and who, as We have Reason to believe, out of the sense of unkind Usage to the Father, did afterwards, by his own singular Goodness and Favor, much against the mind of some in Credit with him, draw his two Sons, who yet Sur-

vive, into a very great degree of Trust, and Confidence near him; and particularly bestowed on the second, extraordinary marks of Honor and Bounty, that are to descend to his Posterity.

We take them both to be Men of so much Piety to their Father, and so much Spirit in themselves, that they would by no means be bribed to omit any thing upon this Occasion, that might be of Use or Advantage to the Honor of one they owe so much Duty to; if they could conceive, that there was need, at this time of day, to contribute to the Justification of his Innocency. The World hath lasted long enough, since the Misfortunes of this Honorable Person, to be thoroughly convinced, that there was nothing in all those Articles Exhibited against him in Parliament, that did in the least touch or concern him. One of his Sons, then of the House of Commons, offered in that House, that if they who accused him, would but take the Pains to prove to the House any one of the Articles, and take which they would, if they made out but any one of them all, Himself, and all his Friends, would acknowledge him guilty of all.

But there is no need now of the Vindication of such a Man, whom every Body, in their Consciences, do not only acquit of any Crime, but all Good Men speak of with Honor; and who still lives in the opinion of all true *English* Men, in as high a Reputation as any Man to this day.

Yet, although We intend to decline all manner of Reflection on the Memory of that King, We may be allowed to say, That that excellently well natured Prince, who did very few ill natured things in his

Reign, was prevailed upon, in this case, not only to put out of his Service one of the most Faithful and Ancient Servants then alive to his Father, or Himself (which is not to be so much complained of; for it would be a hard Tie indeed for a Prince to be, as it were, Married to his Servants for better, for worse) but to consent to an Act of Parliament, that obliged this his poor Servant to end his days in Banishment, with old Age and Infirmities to attend him: This might be thought a little hard-hearted to inflict upon a Man, who had the Honor and Happiness, in the more vigorous part of his Life, to have led the King himself through his own Exile, with Credit and Dignity, and in more Honor and Reputation, than usually attends Unfortunate Princes, that are deprived of their own Dominions; and at last, in the fulness of God's own Time, had the Happiness to have so considerable a share in the Conduct of his Restoration. For it was by this Author principally, that the continual correspondence was kept up with the Loyal Party in *England*, in order to cultivate good thoughts of his Majesty in the minds of his People, and to bring them, in some sort, acquainted with his Temper and Disposition, before they could know his Person. This Author likewise framed, disposed, and drew those Letters and Declarations from *Breda*, which had so wonderful an Effect all over *England*, and were so generally approved here, that they were, almost all, turned into Acts of Parliament.

Many perhaps may not unreasonably believe, that the Marriage of the then Duke of *York* with the Daughter of this Author might have been one great occasion, if not the Foundation of his Fall; and

though it be most undoubtedly true, that this very unequal Alliance was brought to pass entirely without the knowledge, or Privity of this Author, but so much the contrary, that when the King, at that time, made him more than ordinary expressions of his Grace to him, with assurances that this Accident should not lessen the Esteem, and Favor his Majesty had for him; yet his own good Judgment made him immediately sensible, and declare it too, to those he was intimate with, that this must certainly be the occasion of the diminution of his Credit.

The continual dropping of Water does not more infallibly make a hollow in a Stone, than the perpetual Whispers of ill Men must make impression in the heart of any Prince, that will always lie open to hear them; nor can any Man's mind be sufficiently guarded from the influence of continued Calumny, and Backbiting.

When the Duke of *York* had made this Marriage, it was not unnatural to those ill minded Men to suggest, that, for the time to come, that Minister would be contriving Advantages for the good of his own Posterity, to the prejudice of his Sovereign, and Master. What their wickedness, possibly, would have allowed Them to practice, was ground enough to them for an Accusation of His Innocency.

It was true, that the Duke of *York* was become the Chancellor's Son in Law; and therefore they hoped to be believed, when they said, that to satisfy his Ambition, he would forfeit his Integrity; which, God knows, was not true.

Thus what *Tacitus* observes in the time of *Tiberius*, of *Granius Marcellus*, who was informed against to

have spoken ill words of that Emperor, was here, in some sort, verified on our Author :

Inevitable crimen, says Tacitus concerning those words, *nam, quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur.*

The Alliance was undeniable; there were Children born of it; and the King was not blessed with any from his Marriage. An inevitable Crime laid in our Author. For, because it was true, that there were Children from one Marriage, and not from the other, it was suggested, that both Marriages had been so contrived by the Chancellor: though the King knew very well, that his own Marriage had not been first projected, or proposed by this Author; and that he had often told his Majesty, what suspicions there were in the World, that that Great and Virtuous Princess might prove unfruitful.

Another inevitable Misfortune, which was then laid as a Crime too on our Author, was a Report very falsely, but very industriously spread abroad, that first begat a Coldness, and, by degrees, very much disinclined a great many of the Royal Party to him; a Report, that he should have instilled into the King's mind a Principle, that he must prefer his Enemies, and advance Them, to gain them to be his Friends; and for his Old Friends, it was no matter how he used Them, for They would be so still. To which very scandalous misrepresentation We must give this true Answer:

It fell out indeed, that every Man's Expectation, that had labored all the heat of the day in the Vine-yard, who had received Wounds in their Persons in the day of Battle, or suffered in their Fortunes or Liberties, for the preservation of a good Conscience during the

Usurpation of Tyranny and Anarchy, was not, and, alas! could not, be recompensed immediately according to their Merit, or the Hopes they had entertained: And because it was true that they were disappointed, it was believed by some of them, that our Author, being Minister at that time, had instilled this damnable Doctrine and Position, that it was no matter how the King used his Old Friends: and because it was true that they were not considered as they deserved, it must be believed, as they would have it, that He was the Author of that Advice.

It was true that the King, who was so wonderfully Restored with all that Glory and Peace, more perhaps upon the confidence of his Declarations and Promises from *Breda*, than any other Human means, and who had thought it necessary to recommend, in his most gracious Speech to both Houses, upon the passing the Act of Indemnity, that all marks of distinction and division amongst his Subjects, should be for ever buried and forgotten, did not think it for his Honor, and true Interest, to Reign over a Party only of his Subjects; and therefore, immediately after his Restoration, in order to the Settlement of his Court, and Family, the then Earl of *Manchester*, whose part every body remembered to have been very Eminent, in the time of the Rebellion, against King *Charles* the First, but who had industriously applied himself several years to the King, to make reparation for his former Errors, and had been considerably serviceable to him in several occasions, was Honored with the Office of Lord Chamberlain of the Household; to let the Kingdom see, how the King Himself began with practising what he exhorted his Subjects to, that

admirable Art of Forgetfulness, when he put Such a Person into so Eminent a Station in the Government, near his own Person. And it was certainly of Advantage to the King, in the beginning of his Settlement here, as well as a Mark of Justice in his Nature, to let his Subjects know and feel, that every one of them might capacitate himself, by his future behaviour, for any Dignity and Preferment.

But it could never be in the Heart of a Man, who had been all along on the Suffering side, to do his own Party so base an Office with the King, as this false Report did insinuate. He might be of opinion that the fattest Calf was to be killed, for the entertainment of the Prodigal Son, whenever he returned; that there might be no distinction of Parties kept up amongst Us; but he could never forget the Birthright of the Eldest Son, who have served the King so many Years, and had not at any time transgressed his Commandment, and so well deserved that praise, and that reward, *Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine.* And yet this Calumny, false as it was, was another inevitable Crime, or at least Misfortune. For without that opinion, which some of the Royal Party had sucked in, that the Chancellor had abandoned their Interest, it had been impossible to have engaged a Majority in that Parliament, to have consented to that Act of Banishment.

God forgive the Inventors and Contrivers of this foul Calumny: But, by his Almighty Providence who from Heaven reveals Secrets, it was not long before that Party was disabused. For, though the Chancellor, for some time, bore the blame, that they had not been more considered, it was quickly found

that it was not from Him, but from the mistaken Politics of the new Statesmen, that they were designed to be neglected. Nor did they at all find themselves more taken notice of, after his Removal; nor have the several other Parties in the Kingdom, that have been cherished, and countenanced in opposition to this, much declined, as We conceive, to this day.

But after all, We are humbly of opinion, that it was neither of these above mentioned unavoidable Misfortunes, nor both together, that gave the fatal, and last decisive blow to the fortune of this good Man. The King had too good a Judgment, and was too well natured, to have been imposed upon barely by such attacks as these; which he knew very well himself, as to our Author's guilt in them, were Frivolous and Unjust.

But there are always in Courts secret Engines, that Actually consummate the Mischiefs, that others, in a more public way, have been long in bringing to pass: And in this case there were two principal ones:

The One, the Interest of some of the Zealots of the Popish Party, who knew this Minister had too much Credit in the Nation, though he should lose it with the King, to suffer the Projects, they perpetually had, of propagating their Religion, to take effect, whilst he should be in the Kingdom:

The Other, the Faction of the Ladies, too prevalent at that time with the King, who were afraid of such a Man's being near him, as durst talk to him, as he had several times taken the Liberty to do, of the scandal of their lives, and reprove both the Master and the Mistresses, for their public unlawful Conversations.

Thus these two Interests, joining their Forces, were so powerful, that there was no resisting them, by a Man, who could not make Court to Either. And so he fell a Sacrifice to the Ambition, and Malice of all sorts of Enemies, who were desirous of getting new places to themselves in the Court, and of trying new Inventions in the State.

And yet it is to be observed, that that King, who was, almost all his Reign, ever laboring, with much pains, to get a little Ease, which he might perhaps have attained with less trouble, and, no doubt, hoped, by getting rid of this old importunate Counsellor, to terrify any Man from presuming afterwards to tell him such bold Truths, had scarce ever after any Serenity in his whole Reign: But those very Women, or others in their places, and the Factions he himself had given countenance to, grew too hard for him, and tore him almost to pieces, sometimes in the favoring of one Party, and sometimes of another, without steadiness of his own, or confidence enough in any of his Servants, to guide him through those perplexities, that could not have been brought upon him, but by his own consent.

We dare say, there were some hours in his life, that he wished he had had his old Chancellor again; who, he knew, was a more skilful Pilot than any of his new Statemen.

(*Tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum.*)

And that he had not, by his too much eagerness to get rid of one old Servant, given too great a handle to have new Measures, and new Counsels, so

often imposed upon him, throughout the whole remaining part of his life.

Thus We have finished our Preface, which We thought incumbent on us to make, who had lived to be acquainted with this Author, and to have known his merit, that it might attend the publishing this History, to give the present Age some information of the Character of him they are to read. And as we desired to perform it with respect to his Memory, so, We hope, We have not exceeded the bounds of truth, and modesty, which he himself would have taken unkindly from those that are doing this Office to him. Whatever Misfortunes he might have in his life; whatever Enemies he might have had; or whatever Errors he might have committed (which few Men in his high Stations escape quite clear of (We presume to think he deserves, from all impartial Men, the praise of an honest, just, and able Servant to the Church and Crown, and to be ranked amongst the great and good Ministers of State.

And now We will conclude all, with a thanksgiving to God in *Saint Luke*, *Glory be to God on high, and on Earth peace, good will, towards Men.*

For God's name ought ever to be glorified in all his dispensations; whether they be attended with the Prosperities, or Adversities of this present World. We speak it knowingly, that our Noble Author did so throughout the Course of his Misfortunes, and that he did adore, and magnify God's holy Name, for all his Mercies so plentifully bestowed upon him; and particularly for giving him the Courage, and Virtue, constantly to act and suffer honorably

through all the considerable Employments of his life; and, more especially, to endeavour to keep things even between the King and the People (the everlasting labor of a faithful Servant) rather than advance his own favor, by unreasonably advancing the Prerogative on the one hand, or his credit, by courting the Popular Interest, on the other; which We heartily wish, all Men, in the highest Authority under a King of *England*, may ever remember to practice.

And whoever are acquainted with the Sons of this Noble Author, must do them this justice to own, they have often declared, that they have found themselves as well the better Christians, as the better Men, for the afflicted, as well as prosperous parts of their Father's Life; which hath taught them, to be the less surpris'd with the various turns, they have met with in the Course of their own. With *Saint Paul*, they have learnt to know how to be exalted, and how to be abased. This as Christians: And with *Horace*, who attributes more to Fortune, they have learnt to have always in their minds,

*Laudo manentem, si celeres quatit
Pennas, Resigno quæ dedit.*

And having thus glorified God on high, that they may do all in them lies, towards promoting Peace on Earth, they do very heartily declare, and profess good Will towards all Men; and bear no unkindness to any that were the Contrivers of the undeserved Misfortunes of their Noble Father.

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TO THE QUEEN.

MADAM,

TO Your Majesty is most humbly Dedicated this Second Part of the *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars*, written by *Edward Earl of Clarendon*. For to whom so naturally can the works of this Author, treating of the times of Your Royal Grandfather, be addressed, as to Yourself; now wearing, with Lustre and Glory, that Crown, which, in those unhappy days, was treated with so much contempt and barbarity, and laid low even to the Dust?

This Second Part comes with the greater confidence into Your presence, by the advantage of the favorable reception, the first hath met with in the World; since it is not to be doubted, but the same truth, fairness, and impartiality, that will be found throughout the whole thread of the History, will meet with the same Candor from all equal Judges.

It is true, some few Persons, whose Ancestors are here found not to have had that part during their lives which would have been more agreeable to the wishes of their surviving posterity, have been offended at some particulars, mentioned in this History, concerning so near Relations, and would have them pass for mistaken Informations. But it is to be hoped, that such a concern of Kindred for their Families, though not blamable in them, will rather appear partial on Their side; since it cannot be doubted, but this Author must have had his materials from undeniable, and unexceptionable hands, and could have no temptation to insert any thing but the truth in a work of this nature, which was designed to remain to Posterity, as a faithful record of Things and Persons in those times, and of his own unquestionable sincerity in the representation of them.

In this assurance it is humbly hoped, it will not be unprofitable to Your Majesty to be here informed of the fatal and undeserved misfortunes of one of Your Ancestors, with the particular and sad occasions of them; the better to direct Your Royal Person through the continual uncertainties of the Greatness of this World. And as Your Majesty cannot have a better Guide, throughout the whole Course of Your Reign, for the good Administration of Your Government, than History in

* Prefixed to the second volume of the folio-edition.

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general, so there cannot be a more useful one to Your Majesty than this of Your own Kingdoms; and it is presumed, without lying under the imputation of misleading Your Majesty, it may be asserted that no Author could have been better instructed, and have known more of the Times and Matters of which he writes, than this who is here presented to You.

Your Majesty may depend upon his Relations to be true in Fact; and You will find his Observations just; his Reflections made with judgment and weight; and his Advices given upon wise and honest Principles; not capable of being now interpreted as subservient to any Ambition or Interest of his own; and having now out-lived the Prejudices and Partialities of the Times in which they were Written. And Your Majesty thus Elevated, as by God's blessing You are, from whom a great many Truths may be industriously concealed, and on whom a great many wrong Notions under false Colors may with equal care be Obtruded, will have the greater Advantage from this faithful Remembrancer.

This author, once a Privy-Counsellor and Minister to two Great Kings, and, in a good degree, Favorite to one of Them, hath some pretence to be admitted into Your Majesty's Council too, and may become capable of doing You Service also; whilst the Accounts he gives of Times past, come seasonably to guide You through the Times present, and those to come.

This History may lie upon Your Table unenvied, and Your Majesty may pass hours and days in the perusal of it, when, possibly, They who shall be the most useful in Your Service, may be reflected on for aiming too much at influencing Your Actions, and engrossing Your Time.

From this History Your Majesty may come to know more of the nature, and temper of Your own People, than hath yet been observed by any other hand. Neither can any Living Conversation lay before Your Majesty in one view, so many Transactions necessary for Your observation. And seeing no Prince can be endued in a moment with a perfect Experience in the Conduct of Affairs, whatever knowledge may be useful to Your Majesty's Government, if it may have been concealed from You in the Circumstances of Your Private Life, in this History it may be the most effectually supplied; where Your Majesty will find the true Constitution of Your Government, both in Church and State, plainly laid before You, as well as the Mistakes that were committed in the management of both.

Here Your Majesty will see how both those Interests are

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inseparable, and ought to be preserved so, and how fatal it hath proved to both, whenever, by the Artifice and Malice of wicked and self-designing Men, they have happened to be divided. And though Your Majesty will see here, how a Great King lost his Kingdoms, and at last his Life, in the Defence of this Church, You will discern too, that it was by Men who were no better Friends to Monarchy than to true Religion, that his Calamities were brought upon Him; and as it was the method of those Men to take exceptions first to the Ceremonies and outward Order of the Church, that they might attack her the more surely in her very Being and Foundation, so they could not destroy the State, which they chiefly designed, till they had first overturned the Church. And a truth it is which cannot be controverted, That the Monarchy of *England* is not now capable of being Supported, but upon the Principles of the Church of *England*; from whence it will be very natural to conclude, that the preserving them both firmly United together is the likeliest way for Your Majesty to Reign happily over Your Subjects.

The Religion by Law Established is such a Vital part of the Government, so constantly woven and mixed into every branch of it, that generally Men look upon it as a good part of their Property too; since that, and the Government of the Church, is secured to them by the same provision. So that it seems that, next to Treason against Your Sacred Person, an Invasion upon the Church ought to be watched and prevented by those who have the Honor to be trusted in the Public Administration, with the strictest Care and Diligence, as the best way to preserve Your Person and Government in their just Dignity and Authority.

Amongst all the observations, that may be made out of this History, there seems none more Melancholic, than that, after so much misery and desolation brought upon these Kingdoms by that unnatural Civil War, which hath yet left so many deep and lamentable marks of it's Rage and Fury, there have hitherto appeared so few signs of Repentance and Reformation.

Some Persons will see, they are designed to be excepted out of this Remark, whose Conduct hath happily made amends for the mistakes of their Ancestors, and whose practice in the Stations they are now in, does sufficiently distinguish them. Happy were it for the Nation, had all the rest thought fit to follow so good Examples, and that either Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion, or Acts of Grace and Favor, or Employments

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of Authority, Riches, and Honor, had hitherto been able to recover many of them to the temper of good Subjects. The truth of this observation is set forth by this Author in so lively a manner, that one hath frequent occasions to look on him as a Prophet as well as a Historian, in several particulars mentioned in this Book.

That this Remark may not look froward or angry, with great submission to Your Majesty, it may be considered, what can be the meaning of the several Seminaries, and as it were Universities, set up in divers parts of the Kingdom, by more than ordinary Industry, contrary to Law, supported by large contributions; where the Youth is bred up in Principles directly contrary to Monarchical and Episcopal Government? What can be the meaning of the constant Solemnizing by some Men, the Anniversary of that dismal Thirtieth of *January*, in scandalous and opprobrious Feasting and Jestings, which the Law of the Land hath Commanded to be perpetually observed in Fasting and Humiliation? If no sober Man can say any thing in the defence of such Actions, so destructive to the very Essence of the Government, and yet impossible to be conducted without much Consultation and Advice, it is hoped this Reflection will not be thought to have proceeded from an uncharitable and ill natured Spirit, but from a dutiful and tender regard to the good of the Nation, and the prosperity of Your Majesty's Reign.

In the mean time, whether this does not look like an industrious Propagation of the Rebellious Principles of the last Age, and on that score render it necessary that Your Majesty should have an Eye toward such unaccountable Proceedings, is humbly submitted to Your Majesty; who will make a better judgment upon the whole than any others can suggest to You: You have a greater Interest to do it; You have much more to preserve, and much more to lose; You have the happiness of Your Kingdoms, Your Crown, and Your Government to secure, in a time of as great difficulties, as ever were yet known, under a very Expensive War at present, and some circumstances attending it in relation to these Nations, that may continue even after a Peace; besides the danger of a future Separation of the two Kingdoms, very uncomfortable to reflect on; which yet, in all probability, will have Influence upon the present times too, if it comes once to be thought that it is inevitable.

God give Your Majesty a safe and prosperous passage through so many appearances of Hazard; You can never want Undertakers of divers sorts, who, according to their several Politics,

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will warrant You Success if You will trust them : But Your real happiness will very much depend upon Yourself, and Your chusing to Honor with Your Service such Persons as are Honest, Stout, and Wise.

If Informations of times past may be useful, this Author will deserve a share of Credit with You, whose Reputation and Experience were so great in his Life-time, that they will be Recorded in times to come for the real Services he did, besides the Honor, and great Fortune, unusual to a Subject, of having been Grand-father to two great Queens, Your Royal Sister and Your-Self; both so well beloved, and esteemed by Your People, both so willing, and Zealous to do Good. Her power indeed was more limited and dependent; but Her early Death made room for Your Majesty's more unrestrained and Sovereign Authority, and resigned to Your-Self alone the more lasting dispensation of those Blessings that came from Heaven to You both.

If the benefit Your Majesty may reap by the perusal of this History, shall prove serviceable to after-times, it will be remembered to the praise and honor of his Name; and Your Majesty Yourself will not be displeased to allow his Memory a share of that advantage; nor be offended with being put in mind, that Your *English* Heart, so happily owned by Yourself, and Adored by Your Subjects, had not been so *Entirely English*, without a communication with His Heart too, than which there never was one more devoted to the good of his Country and the firm Establishment of the Crown.

It being designed by this Dedication only to Introduce this Noble Author into Your Presence, it would be contrary to the Intention of it to take up more of Your Majesty's time here; it is best therefore to leave this faithful Counsellor alone with You. For God's sake, Madam, and Your own, be pleased to read Him with attention, and serious and frequent Reflections; and from thence, in Conjunction with Your own Heart, prescribe to Your-Self the methods of true and lasting Greatness, and the solid Maxims of a Sovereign truly *English*: That during this Life, You may exceed in Felicities and Fame, and after this Life, in Reputation and Esteem, that Glorious Predecessor of Your Majesty's, the Renowned First *Semper Eadem*, whose Motto You have chosen, and whose Pattern You seem to have taken for Your great Example, to Your own Immortal Glory, and the Defence, Security, and Prosperity of the Kingdoms You Govern.

And God grant You may do so long.

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TO THE QUEEN.

MADAM,

WITH all Duty and Submission comes into the world the last part of this History under Your Majesty's Protection; a just Tribute to Your Majesty, as well on the account of the Memory of the Author, so long engaged, and so usefully, in the Service of the Crown, as of the work itself, so worthily memorable for the great Subject He treats of; and so instructive, by his noble way of treating it.

This work, now it is completely published, relates the Transactions of near twenty years: hardly to be paralleled in any other time, or place for the wonderful turns, and passages in it. In this space of time, Your Majesty sees Your own Country at the highest pitch of happiness and prosperity, and the lowest degree of adversity and misery. So that, when a Man carries his Thoughts and his Memory over all the Occurrences of those Times, he seems to be under the power of some Enchantment, and to dream, rather than read, the Relations of so many surprising Revolutions. The Peace and the Plenty of this Kingdom, and, in so short a space of time, the bloody desolation of it by a most wicked Rebellion, the ruin of so many noble and great Families, and the devastation of their Estates; and, after this, the Restitution of all things *as at the beginning*, is hardly credible at this time, even so soon after all these things came to pass.

When Your Majesty sees one of Your Royal Ancestors, the first who lived to Reign as Heir to the two Crowns of Great Britain united, and, on that account, higher in Reputation, Honor, and Power, than any of his Predecessors, brought, by unaccountable Administrations on the one hand, and by vile Contrivances on the other, into the greatest difficulties and distresses throughout all his Kingdoms; then left and abandoned by most of his Servants, whom he had himself raised to the greatest Honors, and Preferments; thus reduced to have scarce one faithful able Counsellor about him, to whom he could *breathe his Conscience and Complaints*, and from whom he might expect one honest, sound, disinterested Advice: after this, how he was obliged to take up Arms,

* Prefixed to the third volume of the folio-edition.

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and to contend with his own Subjects in the Field for his Crown, the Laws, his Liberty, and Life; there meeting with unequal fortune, how he was driven from one part of the Kingdom, and from one Body of an Army to another, till at last he was brought under the power of cruel and merciless Men, Imprisoned, Arraigned, Condemned, and Executed like a common Malefactor: And after this still, when Your Majesty sees his Enemies triumphing for a time in their own guilt, and ruling over their fellows, and first companions in wickedness, with successful Insolence, till these very Men by force, and fraud, and sundry artifices, still getting the better of one another, brought all Government into such Confusion and Anarchy, that no one of them could subsist; and how then, by God's Providence, the Heir of the Royal Martyr was invited and brought home by the Generality of the People, and their Representatives, to return, and take on him the Government, in as full an Exercise of it as any of his Predecessors had ever enjoyed; not subject to any of those Treaties, or Conditions, which had been so often offered by his Father to the Men then in credit, and power, and, in their pride and fury, had been as often rejected by them: When Your Majesty sees before You all this begun, and carried on in Violence and War, and concluded in a peaceful Restoration, within the space of twenty years, by *Englishmen* alone amongst themselves, without the Intervention of any Foreign Power; many of the same hands joining in the Recovery and Settlement, as they had done before in the Destruction of their Country, Your Majesty will certainly say,

This was the Lord's doing, and it must ever be marvellous in our eyes.

An Account of this great work of God coming to be published in Your Majesty's time, it is humbly conceived not improper to congratulate Your good fortune, that, in the beginning of Your Reign, such a History of the greatest Matters, passed within Your own Dominions, comes to light; as well for the necessity there may be, after above forty years run out in a very unsettled and various management of the public Affairs, to put Men in mind again of those mischiefs under which so many great Men fell on both sides, as in hopes, that on Your Majesty's account, and for the Glory of Your Name, whom Your People have universally received with joy, this Generation may be inclined to let these fresh examples of Good and Evil sink into their minds, and make the deeper impression in them to follow the one, and avoid the other.

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From the Year 1660 to very near 1685, which was the time of King *Charles the Second's* Reign here in *England*, it must needs be owned, that, with all the very good Understanding, and excellent good Nature of that King, there was a great mixture of Counsels, and great vicissitudes of good and bad Events, almost throughout that space of time attending his Government. They seem indeed to be somewhat like the four Seasons of the Year: of which three Quarters are generally fair, hopeful, flourishing, and gay: but there come as constantly severe Winters, that freeze, wither, destroy, and cut off many hopeful plants, and expectations of things to come.

It must be owned too, since it can never be concealed, that, from the beginning of the Restoration, there was, certainly, not such a Return to God Almighty for the wonderful Blessings he had poured out with so liberal a hand, as, no doubt was due to the great Author and Giver of all that Happiness: neither was there such a prudence in the Administration, or such a steadiness in the conduct of Affairs, as the fresh Experience of the foregone misfortunes might well have forewarned those that were intrusted in it, to have pursued with Courage and Constancy. It is but too notorious there was great forgetfulness of God, as well as manifest Mistakes towards the World; which quickly brought forth fruits meet for such undutifulness, and ill conduct.

The next four Years after that Reign, were attended with more fatal Miscalriages; over which it may be more decent to draw a Veil, than to enter into a particular enumeration of them. Many great Princes have been led unawares into irrecoverable Errors: and the greater they are, so many more particular Persons are usually involved in the Calamity.

What followed after this time, till Your Majesty's most happy coming to the Throne, is so fresh in the memory of all Men yet living, that every one will be best able to make his own observations upon it. Such Deliverances have their pangs in the Birth, that much weaken the Constitution, in endeavouring to preserve, and amend it.

And now Your Majesty, who succeeds to a Revolution, as well as a Restoration, has the advantage of a retrospect on all these Accidents, and the benefit of reviewing all the failings in those times: and whatsoever was wanting, at those opportunities of amending past Errors, in the management of Affairs, for the better establishment of the Crown, and the security of the true old *English* Government, it will be

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Your Majesty's happiness to supply in Your time : a time in some sort resembling the auspicious beginning of King *Charles* the Second's Restoration : for in that time, as now in Your Majesty's, the People of this Kingdom ran cheerfully into obedience ; the chiefest Offenders lay quiet under a sense of their own Crimes, and an apprehension of the reward justly due to them ; and all Your Subjects went out to meet Your Majesty with Duty, and most with Love.

Comparisons of Times may be as odious as that of Persons ; and therefore no more shall be said here on that Subject, than that since the Restoration, and some few Years after it, given up to joy, and the forgetfulness of past Miseries, there hath been no time that brought so much hope of quiet, and so general a satisfaction to these Kingdoms, as that on which we saw Your Majesty so happily seated upon the Throne of Your Ancestors. Among all the signs of greatness and glory in a Prince's Reign, there is none more really advantageous, none more comfortable, than that which *Virgil* remarks as a felicity in the time of *Augustus*.

When abroad the Sovereign is prosperous, and at home does govern Subjects willing to obey :

When it is not fear that drives and compels them, but affection and loving kindness that draws them, to their duty ; and makes them rejoice under the Laws by which they are governed. Such was certainly the time of Your Majesty's first Entrance ; and such God grant it may be ever.

The two first Volumes of this History have laid before Your Majesty the original causes, and the foundations of the Rebellion, and Civil War : the contrivances, deligns, and consultations in it ; and the miserable events of it ; and seemed to have finished the whole War, when the Author, at the very end of the ninth Book, says, that *from that time there remained no possibility for the King to draw any more Troops together in the Field*. And when there is an end of Action in the Field, the inquiries into the consequences afterwards are usually less warm.

But it happens in the Course of this History, that several new Scenes of new Wars, and the Events of them, are opened in this Volume ; which, it is hoped, will prove exceeding useful, even in those parts, where, by reason of the sadness of the Subject, it cannot be delightful, and, in all other parts of it, both useful and delightful.

Your Majesty especially, who must have Your heart perpetually intent to see what followed in the close of all those Wars, and by what means and methods the loss of all that noble and innocent Blood, and particularly that portion of

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the Royal Stream then spilt, was recompensed upon Their heads who were the wicked Contrivers of the Parricide, and how at last the miseries of these Nations, and the sufferings of Your Royal Family were all recovered by God Almighty's own unerring hand, will, no doubt, be more agreeably entertained in this Volume with the Relation of the secret Steps of the return of God's Mercy, than when he still seemed openly to have forsaken his own oppressed Cause ; wherein so much of what was dearest to Yourself was so highly concerned.

Of the Transactions within these Kingdoms, soon after the War was ended, especially just before, and after the barbarous Murder of the Blessed King, this Author could have but short and imperfect informations abroad. It cannot therefore justly be expected, that he should be so full, or minute in many circumstances relating to the actions and consultations of that Party here at home, as are to be found in some other Writers, whose business it was to intend only such matters.

One thing indeed were very much to be wished, that he had given the world a more distinct, and particular Narrative of that pious King's last most magnanimous sufferings in his Imprisonments, Trial, and Death. But it seems the remembrance of all those deplorable passages was so grievous, and insupportable to the Writer's mind, that he abhorred the dwelling long upon them, and chose rather to contract the whole black Tragedy within too narrow a compass. But this is a loss that can only now be lamented, not repaired.

But when the History brings Your Majesty to what the noble Writer esteemed one of his principal businesses in this Volume, to attend King *Charles* the Second, and his two Royal Brothers, throughout all their wanderings, which take up a considerable share of it, and are most accurately and knowingly described by him, as having been a constant Witness of most of them, it is presumed, This part may give Your Majesty equal satisfaction to any that is gone before it. It will not be unpleasant to Your Majesty, since You have known so well the happy conclusion of it, to see the banished King under his long adverse Fortune, and how many Years of trouble and distress he patiently waited God Almighty's appointed time, for his Redemption from that Captivity.

In that disconsolate time of distress and lowness of his Fortune, Your Majesty will find cause to observe, that there were Factions even Then in his little Court beyond Sea ; so inseparable are such indecent and unchristian contentions from all Communities of Men : They are like *Tares sown by an Enemy amongst the Wheat, whilst good men sleep.*

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Upon the Subject of the Factions in those days, there is a particular passage in this History, of two Parties in that Court abroad, who thought it worth their while, even Then to be very industrious in prosecuting this Author with unjust and false Accusations. And the Author himself observes, that, howsoever, those Parties seemed, on most other accounts, incompatible the one with the other, they were very heartily united in endeavouring to compass His destruction; and for no other reason, that ever appeared, but his being an unwearied Assertor of the Church of *England's* Cause, and a constant Friend and Servant to the true Interest of it; to which either of Them was really more irreconcilable, than they were to each other, whatsoever they pretended.

This passage seems to deserve a particular reflection, because, within few Years after that King's Restoration, some of both those Parties joined again in attacking this noble Author, and accusing him anew of the very same pretended Crimes they had objected to him abroad; where there had been so much malice showed on one side, and so much natural and irresistible innocence appeared on the other, that one would have thought, no Arrow out of the same Quiver, could have been enough envenomed to have hurt so faithful, so constant, and so tried a Servant to the Church and Crown.

This particular, and another, wherein Your Majesty will find what Advice this Author gave his Royal Master, upon the occasion of his being much pressed to go to Church to *Charenton*, and how some Intrigues, and Snares, cunningly laid on one side, were very plainly and boldly withstood on the other by this Author, will let the World see, why this Man was by any means to be removed, if his Adversaries could effect it, as one that was perpetually crossing their mischievous designs, by an habitual course of adhering unmoveably to the Interest of this Church and Nation.

In the progress of this Book, Your Majesty will also find some very near that King whilst he was abroad, endeavouring to take advantage of the forlorn and desperate circumstances of his Fortune, to persuade him, that the Party who had Fought for his Father, was an insignificant, a despicable, and undone Number of Men; and, on this account, putting him on the thoughts of Marrying some Roman Catholic Lady, who might engage those of that Religion, both at Home and Abroad, in his Majesty's Interest; Others at the same time, with equal importunity, recommending the power of the Presbyterians, as most able to do him Service, and bring him Home.

This Noble Author all this while persisted, in the integrity

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of his Soul, to use that credit his faithfulness and truth had gained him, to convince the King, that Foreign Force was a strength not desirable for him to depend on, and, if it were suspected to be on the Interest of Popery, of all things most likely to prevent, and disappoint his Restoration; that for his own Subjects, none of them were to be neglected; his Arms ought to be stretched out to receive them all; but the old Royal Party was that his Majesty should chiefly rely on, both to assist him in his Return, and afterwards to establish his Government.

This Noble Author had been a watchful observer of all that had passed in the time of the Troubles; and had the opportunity to have seen the Actions, and penetrated, in a good measure, into the Consultations of those days, and was no ill judge of the Temper and Nature of Mankind; and He, it seems, could not be of opinion, but that They who had ventured all for the Father, would be the truest and firmest Friends to the Son.

Whether this grew up in him to be his judgment, from his observation of the Rules of Nature, and a general practice in all wise Men to depend most on the Service, and Affection of those who had been steady to them in their distresses; or whether a lukewarm Trimming indifferency, though sometimes dignified with the Character of Politics, did not suit with His plain dealing, it is certain, he never could Advise a Prince to hold a Conduct that should grieve, and disoblige his old Friends, in hope of getting new ones, and make all his old Enemies rejoice. But, however his Malicious Prosecutors afterwards scandalized him, as being the Author of such Counsels, and objected to him what was their own advice and practice, He really thought this kind of Conduct weakened the hands, and tended to the Subversion of any Government. And the success has approved this judgment; for in the very inconstant, and variable Administration under that King, it was found by Experience, and to this day the Memorials of it are extant, that he had Quiet and Calm days, or more Rough and Boisterous Weather, as he favored, or discountenanced his own Party; called indeed a Party by the Enemies of it, upon a levelling Principle of allowing no distinctions; though all who have contended against it, were properly but Parties; whilst that was then, and is still, on the advantage-ground of being Established by the Laws, and Incorporated into the Government.

By degrees Your Majesty is brought, in the course of this History, as it were to the Top of some exalted height, from whence You may behold all the Errors and Misfortunes of the

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Time past with advantage to Yourself; may view Armies drawn up, and Battles Fought, without Your part of the Danger; and, by the Experience of former Misfortunes, establish Your own Security.

It seems to be a Situation not unlike that of the Temple of Wisdom in *Lucretius*; from whence he advises his Readers to look down on all the Vanity and Hurry of the World. And as that Philosophical Poet does very movingly describe the pursuits of those whom he justly styles Miserable Men, distracting themselves in wearisome Contentions about the Business and greatness of an empty World; so does this Noble Historian, with true and evident deductions from one Cause and Event to another, and such an agreeable thread of entertainment, that one is never content to give over reading, bring Your Majesty to an easy ascent over all the knowledge of those Miserable times; from whence not in speculation only, but really and experimentally, You may look down on all the folly, and madness, and wickedness of those secret Contrivances, and open Violences, whereby the Nation, as well as the Crown, was brought to Desolation; and see how falsely and weakly those great and busy disturbers of Peace pretended Reformation, and Religion, and to be seeking God in every one of their Rebellious and Sinful Actions; whereas God was not to be found in their Thunder, nor their Earthquakes, that seemed to shake the foundations of the World; but in the still voice of Peace he came at last, to defeat and disappoint all their Inventions: That God, to whom vengeance belongs, arose, and showed himself in defence of that righteous Cause of the Crown and Church; which Your Majesty will observe to have been Combined against, Fought with, Overthrown, and in the end Raised, and Re-established together. *Now these things happened for ensamples, and they are written for our admonition.*

It is now most humbly submitted to Your Majesty's judgement, whether the consideration of these matters, set forth in this History, be not the most useful prospect not for Yourself only, but Your noblest Train, Your great Council, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in Parliament assembled.

When Your Majesty is so attended, by God's blessing, no Power on Earth will be able to disappoint Your Wisdom, or resist Your Will. And there may be need of all this Power and Authority, to preserve, and defend Your Subjects, as well as Your Crown, from the like distractions and invasions. There may want the concurrence of a Parliament, to prevent the return of the same mischievous practices, and to restrain the madness

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of Men of the same Principles in this Age, as destroyed the last: such as think themselves even more capable than those in the last, to carry on the like wicked designs; such as take themselves to be informed, even from this History, how to mend the mistakes then committed by the principal Directors on that side, and by a more refined skill in wickedness, to be able once again to overthrow the Monarchy, and then to perpetuate the destruction of it.

There is no doubt, Madam, but every thing that is represented to Your Majesty of this Nature, will find a Party ready to deny it; that will join hand in hand to assure the World there is no such thing. It is a common Cause, and it is their Interest, if they can, to persuade Men, that it is only the heat and warmth of *High-Church* Inventions, that suggest such Fears, and Jealousies.

But let any impartial Person judge, to whom all the Libertines of the Republican Party are like to unite themselves; and whether it is imaginable, that the Established Government, either in Church or State, can be strengthened, or served by them. They must go to the Enemies of Both, and pretend there is no such thing as a Republican Party in *England*, that they may be the less observed, and go on the more secure in their destructive projects.

They can have no better Game to play, than to declare, that none but *Jacobites* alarm the Nation with these Apprehensions; and that *Jacobites* are much greater Enemies than Themselves to Your Majesty. Let that be so: no Man, in his Wits, can say any thing to Your Majesty in behalf of any, let them be who they will, that will not own Your Government, and wish the Prosperity and the Happiness of it, and contribute all they can to maintain it.

But whilst these Men most falsely asperse the Sons of the Church of *England* for being *Jacobites*, let them rather clear themselves of what they were lately charged before Your Majesty, that there are Societies of them which celebrate the horrid Thirtieth of *January*, with an execrable Solemnity of scandalous Mirth; and that they have Seminaries, and a sort of Universities, in *England*, maintained by great Contributions, where the fiercest Doctrines against Monarchical, and Episcopal Government, are taught and propagated, and where they bear an implacable hatred to Your Majesty's Title, Name, and Family.

This seems to be a Torrent that cannot be resisted but by the whole Legislative Authority; neither can Your Throne, which they are thus perpetually assailing, or undermining, be supported by a less Power.

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In these difficulties Your great Council will, over and above their Personal duty to Your Majesty, take themselves to be more concerned to be zealous in the defence of Your Royal Prerogative, as well as of their own just Rights and Privileges, in that it was under the Name and Style of a Parliament, though very unjustly so called, that all the Mischiefs mentioned in this History were brought upon the Kingdom.

They best can discover the Craft and Subtilty formerly used in those Consultations; which first inveigled, and drew Men in from one wickedness to another, before they were aware of what they were doing; and engaged them to think themselves not safe, but by doing greater Evils than they began with.

They will, no doubt, be filled with a just indignation against all that Hypocrisy and Villany, by which the *English* Name, and Nation, were exposed to the Censure of the rest of the World: They only can be able to present Your Majesty with remedies proper, and adequate to all these Evils, by which God may be Glorified, and the ancient Constitution of this Government Retrieved, and Supported.

There is one Calamity more, that stands in need of a Cure from Your own Sovereign hand. It is in truth a peculiar Calamity fallen most heavily on this Age, which though it took its chief rise from the disorderly, dissolute times of those Wars, and has monstrously increased ever since, yet was never owned so much as now, and that is a barefaced contempt, and disuse of all Religion whatsoever. And indeed what could so much feigned Sanctity, and so much real Wickedness, during that Rebellion begun in 1641, produce else in foolish Men's hearts, than to say, *There is no God?*

This Irreligion was then pretended to be covered with a more signal Morality and precise strictness in Life and Conversation, which was to be a recompence for the loss of Christianity. But now, even that Shadow of Godliness and Virtue is fled too. Atheism, and Profaness, diligently cultivated, have not failed to produce a prostitution of all Manners in contempt of all Government.

This Profaneness and Impiety seems, next to the horrible Confusions of the late Rebellion, to have gained ground chiefly by this method, that, when many who have been in Authority have not, on several Accounts, been heartily affected to the support of the Church Established by Law, there has crept in, by little and little, a liberty against all Religion. For where the chief Advisers or Managers of Public Affairs, have inclined to alterations, which the Established Rules have not countenanced, they durst not cause the Laws to be put in Execution.

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for fear of turning the force of them on Themselves; so their next refuge has been to suffer Men to observe no Discipline, or Government at all.

Thus the Church of *England*, put to Nurse, as it were, sometimes to such as have been inclined to Popery, and sometimes to other Sects, and sometimes to Men indifferent to all Religion, hath been in danger of being starved, or overlid, by all of them; and the ill consequence has redounded not only to the Members of that Communion, but to all the Professors of Christianity itself.

Whoever have ventured to give warning of these wicked designs and practices, have been rendered as Persons of ill temper and very bad affections. They that have been in Credit and Authority, have been frequently inclined to be favorable to the Men complained of; it has been offered on their behalf, that their intentions were good; and that it was even the Interest of the Government to cover their Principles, whatever might be the consequences of them.

Thus these Mischiefs have been still growing, and no Laws have hitherto reached them; and, possibly they are become incapable of a remedy; unless Your Majesty's great Example of Piety and Virtue shall have sufficient influence to amend them: No honest Man can say it is not reasonable, and even necessary, to watch them; and that, in compassion to Your Subjects, as well as Justice to Yourself. This History hath shown Your Majesty their Fruits in the late times, by which You shall know them still; for Your Majesty well remembers Who has said, that
Men do not gather Grapes of Thorns, or Figs of Thistles.

That God may give Your Majesty a discerning Spirit, a wise, and understanding Heart, to judge aright of all things that belong to Your Peace; that He may enable You to subdue Your Enemies Abroad by successful Counsels, and Arms, and to reduce Your Ill-willers at Home by prudent Laws, administered with the Meekness of Wisdom; that He would give You length of days in one hand, and Riches and Honor in the other; that You, in Your days may have the Glory to restore good Nature (for which the *English* Nation was formerly so celebrated) and good Manners, as well as the sincere Profession, and universal Practice of the True Religion, in Your Kingdoms; and that His Almighty Power may defend You with His favorable Kindness as with a Shield, against all Your Adversaries of every kind, are the Zealous, Constant, and Devout Prayers of so many Millions, that it were the highest presumption in any One Person, to subscribe a particular Name to so Universal a Concern.

THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.
B O O K I.

Deut. iv. 7, 8, 9.

For what nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon him for?

And what Nation is there so great that hath Statutes, and Judgments so righteous as all this Law, which I set before you this day?

Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen.

THAT Posterity may not be Deceived, by the prosperous Wickedness of those times of which I write, into an Opinion, that nothing less than a general Combination, and universal Apostacy in the whole Nation from their Religion, and Allegiance, could, in so short a time, have produced such a total and prodigious Alteration, and Confusion over the whole Kingdom; And that the Memory of those, who, out of Duty and Conscience, have opposed that Torrent, which did overwhelm them, may not lose the recompence due to their Virtue, but having undergone the injuries and reproaches of This, may find a vindication in a better age: it will not be unuseful, for the information of
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B O O
I.

The Preface
the Author

B O O K mation of the Judgment and Conscience of men,
 I. to present to the world a full and clear Narration of the Grounds, Circumstances, and Artifices of this Rebellion; not only from the time since the flame hath been visible in a Civil war, but, looking farther back, from those former passages and accidents, by which the Seed-plots were made and framed, from whence those mischiefs have successively grown to the height they have since arrived at.

And in this ensuing History, though the hand and judgment of God will be very visible, in insinuating a People (as Ripe and Prepared for Destruction) into all the perverse actions of folly and madness making the Weak to contribute to the designs of the Wicked, and suffering even those, by degrees, out of a Conscience of their Guilt, to grow more Wicked than they intended to be; letting the Wise to be imposed upon by Men of small understanding; and permitting the Innocent to be possessed with laziness and sleep in the most visible article of Danger; uniting the Ill, though of the most different Opinions, opposite Interests, and distant Affections, in a firm and constant league of Mischiefs; and dividing those, whose Opinions and Interests are the same, into Faction and Emulation, more pernicious to the Public than the Treason of the others: whilst the poor People, under pretence of zeal to Religion, Law, Liberty, and Parliaments (words of precious esteem in their just signification) are furiously hurried into actions introducing Atheism, and dissolving all the Elements of Christian Religion; cancelling all obli-

gations, and destroying all foundations of Law and Liberty; and rendering, not only the Privileges, but the very Being of Parliaments desperate and impracticable: I say, though the immediate finger and wrath of God must be acknowledged in these perplexities and distractions; yet he who shall diligently observe the distempers and conjunctures of Time, the ambition, pride, and folly of Persons, and the sudden growth of Wickedness, from want of care and circumspection in the first impressions, will find all these Miseries to have proceeded, and to have been brought upon us from the same natural causes, and means, which have usually attended Kingdoms swoln with long Plenty, Pride, and Excess, towards some signal mortification, and castigation of Heaven. And it may be, upon the consideration how impossible it was to foresee many things that have happened, and of the necessity of overlooking many other things, we may not yet find the Cure so desperate, but that, by God's mercy, the Wounds may be again bound up; and then this prospect may not make the future Peace less pleasant and durable.

I have the more willingly induced myself to this unequal task, out of the hope of contributing somewhat to that blessed end: and though a piece of this Nature (wherein the infirmities of some, and the malice of others, must be boldly looked upon and mentioned) is not likely to be published in the Age in which it is writ, yet it may serve to inform myself, and some others, what we ought to do, as well as to comfort us in what we have

B O O K done. For which work, as I may not be thought
 I. altogether an incompetent Person, having been
 present as a Member of Parliament in those Coun-
 cils before, and till the breaking out of the Re-
 bellion, and having since had the Honor to be near
 two great Kings in some Trust, so I shall perform
 the same with all faithfulness, and ingenuity; with
 an equal observation of the faults and infirmities of
 both sides, with their defects and oversights in pur-
 suing their own ends; and shall no otherwise men-
 tion small and light Occurrences, than as they have
 been Introductions to matters of the greatest Mo-
 ment, nor speak of Persons otherwise, than as the
 mention of their Virtues or Vices is essential to the
 work in hand: In which I shall, with truth, pre-
 serve myself from the least sharpness, that may
 proceed from private provocation, and in the whole,
 observe the rules that a Man should who deserves
 to be believed.

I shall not then lead any Man farther back in this
 journey for the discovery of the entrance into those
 dark ways, than the beginning of this King's
 Reign, For I am not so sharp-sighted as those, who
 have discerned this Rebellion contriving, from (if
 not before) the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and fo-
 mented by several Princes, and great Ministers of
 State in *Christendom*, to the time that it brake out.
 Neither do I look so far back as I do, because I
 believe the design to have been so long since for-
 med, but that by viewing the Temper, Disposi-
 tion, and Habit, at that time, of the Court and
 of the Country, we may discern the minds of Men

prepared, of some to Act, and of others to Suffer BOOK
 all that hath since happened; the Pride of this Man, I.
 and the Popularity of that; the Levity of one, and
 the Morosity of another; the Excess of the Court
 in the greatest Want, and the Parsimony and Re-
 tention of the Country in the greatest Plenty; the
 spirit of Craft and Subtlety in some, and the Un-
 polished Integrity of others, too much despising craft
 or art; all contributing jointly to this mass of Con-
 fusion now before us.

King *James* in the end of *March* 1625 died, leav- A View of the
 ing his Majesty that now is, engaged in a War beginning of
 with *Spain*, but unprovided with money to manage K. Charles I.
 it; though it was undertaken by the consent and his Reign.
 advice of Parliament: the People being naturally
 enough inclined to the War (having surfeited with
 the uninterrupted Pleasures and Plenty of 22 years
 Peace) and sufficiently inflamed against the *Spaniard*;
 but quickly weary of the charge of it: and there-
 fore, after an unprosperous and chargeable attempt
 in a Voyage by Sea upon *Cadiz*, and as unsuccess-
 ful, and more unfortunate one upon *France* at the
 Isle of *Ree* (for some difference had likewise about
 the same time begotten a War with that Prince) a
 general Peace was shortly concluded with both King-
 doms; the Exchequer being so exhausted with the
 debts of King *James*, the bounty of his Majesty
 that now is (who upon his first access to the Crown,
 gave many costly instances of his favor to Persons
 near him) and the charge of the War upon *Spain*,
 and *France*, that both the known, and casual Re-
 venue being anticipated, the necessary Subsistence

BOOK I. of the Household was unprovided for; and the King on the sudden driven to those streights for his own Support, that many ways, were resorted to, and inconveniencies submitted to for Supply; as selling the Crown-Lands, creating Peers for money, and many other particulars, which no access of power, or plenty, since could repair.

Parliaments were Summoned, and again Dissolved in displeasure: and that in the fourth year (after the Dissolution of the two former) was determined with a Profession, and Declaration, that, "since
 " for several ill ends the calling again of a Parlia-
 " ment was divulged; however his Majesty had
 " showed, by his frequent meeting with his Peo-
 " ple, his love to the use of Parliaments, yet the
 " late abuse having, for the present, driven his
 " Majesty unwillingly out of that course, he
 " shall account it presumption for any to prescribe
 " any time to his Majesty for Parliaments" Which words were generally interpreted, as if no more Assemblies of that nature were to be expected, and that all Men were prohibited upon the penalty of Censure, so much as to speak of a Parliament. And here I cannot but let myself loose to say, that no Man can show me a Source, from whence those waters of bitterness, we now taste, have more probably flowed, than from these unreasonable, unskilful and precipitate Dissolutions of Parliaments; in which, by an unjust survey of the Passion, Insolence, and Ambition of particular Persons, the Court measured the Temper and Affection of the Country; and by the same standard the People

considered the Honor, Justice, and Piety of the Court; and so usually parted, at those sad seasons, with no other Respect, and Charity one toward the other, than accompanies Persons who never meant to meet but in their own Defence. In which the King had always the disadvantage to harbour Persons about him, who with their utmost Industry, false Information, and Malice, improved the faults, and infirmities of the Court to the People; and again, as much as in them lay, rendered the People suspected, if not odious to the King.

I am not altogether a stranger to the passages of those Parliaments (though I was not a Member of them) having carefully perused the Journals of both Houses, and Familiarly conversed with many who had principal parts in them. And I cannot but wonder at those Counsels, which persuaded the courses then taken; the habit and temper of Men's minds, at that time, being, no question, very applicable to the Public ends; and those ends being only discredited by the Jealousies the People entertained from the manner of the prosecution, that they were other, and worse than in truth they were. It is not to be denied, that there were, in all those Parliaments, especially in that of the fourth year, several Passages, and distempered Speeches of particular Persons, not fit for the Dignity, and Honor of those places, and unsuitable to the Reverence due to his Majesty and his Councils. But I do not know any formed Act of either House (for neither the Remonstrance, nor Votes of the last day were such) that was not agreeable to the Wisdom, and Justice

BOOK of great Courts upon those extraordinary occasions.

I. And whoever considers the Acts of power, and injustice of some of the Ministers, in those intervals of Parliament, will not be much scandalized at the warmth, and vivacity of those meetings.

In the Second Parliament there was a mention, and intention declared of granting five Subsidies, a proportion (how contemptible soever in respect of the pressures now every day imposed) scarce ever before heard of in Parliament. And that Meeting being, upon very unpopular, and unplaussible Reasons, immediately Dissolved, those five Subsidies were exacted, throughout the whole Kingdom, with the same rigor, as if, in truth, an Act had passed to that purpose: divers Gentlemen of prime Quality, in several Counties of *England*, were, for refusing to pay the same, committed to Prison, with great rigor and extraordinary circumstances. And could it be imagined, that those Men would meet again in a free Convention of Parliament, without a sharp, and severe expostulation, and inquiry into their own Right, and the power that had imposed upon that Right? And yet all these Provocations, and many others, almost of as large an extent, produced no other Resentment than the Petition of Right (of no prejudice to the Crown) which was likewise purchased at the price of five Subsidies more, and, in a very short time after that Supply granted, that Parliament was likewise, with strange circumstances of Passion on all sides, Dissolved.

The abrupt, and unkind breaking off the Two first Parliaments was wholly imputed to the Duke of *Buckingham*; and of the Third, principally to the

Lord *Weslon*, then Lord High Treasurer of *England*; both in respect of the great Power, and Interest they then had in the Affections of his Majesty, and for that the time of the Dissolutions happened to be when some Charges, and Accusations were preparing, and ready to be preferred against those two great Persons. And therefore the Envy, and Hatred, that attended them thereupon, was Insupportable, and was visibly the cause of the murder of the first (stabbed to the Heart by the hand of a Villain, upon the mere impious pretence of his being odious to the Parliament) and made, no doubt, so great an impression upon the Understanding, and Nature of the other, that, by degrees, he lost that temper and serenity of Mind, he had been before master of, and which was most fit to have accompanied him in his weighty Employments: insomuch, as, out of indignation to find himself worse used than he deserved, he cared less to deserve well, than he had done; and insensibly grew into that Public hatred, that rendered him less useful to the Service that he only intended.

I wonder less at the Errors of this nature in the Duke of *Buckingham*; who, having had a most generous Education in Courts, was utterly ignorant of the Ebbs and Floods of Popular Councils, and of the Winds that move those Waters; and could not, without the spirit of Indignation, find himself, in the space of a few weeks, without any visible cause intervening, from the greatest height of popular Estimation that any person hath ascended to (insomuch as Sir *Edward Coke* blasphemously

B O O K called him our Saviour) by the same breath thrown
I. down to the depth of Calumny, and Reproach. I say, it is no Marvel (besides that he was naturally to follow such Counsels as were given him) that he could think of no better way, to be freed of these inconveniencies, and troubles, the Passions of those Meetings gave him, than to Dissolve them, and prevent their coming together: and that when they seemed to neglect the Public Peace, out of Animosity to him, he intended his own Ease and Security in the first place, and easily believed, the Public might be otherwise provided for, by more Intent, and Dispassionate Councils. But that the other, the Lord *Weston*, who had been very much, and very Popularly conversant in those Conventions, who exactly knew the Frame, and Constitution of the Kingdom, the temper of the People, the Extents of the Courts of Law, and the Jurisdiction of Parliaments, which at that time had seldom, or never committed any Excess of jurisdiction (Modesty and Moderation in words never was nor ever will be observed in Popular Councils, whose foundation is Liberty of Speech) that He should believe, that the Union, Peace, and Plenty of the Kingdom could be preserved without Parliaments, or that the Passion, and Distemper gotten, and received into Parliaments, could be removed, and reformed by the more passionate Breaking and Dissolving them; or that that Course would not inevitably prove the most Pernicious to himself, is as much my Wonder, as any thing that hath since happened.

There is a Protection very gracious, and just, which Princes owe to their Servants, when, in Obedience to their just Commands, upon extraordinary and necessary Occasions, in the Execution of their Trusts, they swerve from the strict Letter of the Law, which, without that Mercy, would be Penal to them. In any such Case, it is as Legal (the Law presuming it will always be done upon great Reason) for the King to Pardon, as for the Party to Accuse, and the Judge to Condemn. But for the Sovereign Power to interpose, and shelter an Accused Servant from answering, does not only seem an obstruction of Justice, and lay an imputation upon the Prince of being privy to the Offence, but leaves so great a Scandal upon the Party himself, that he is generally concluded Guilty of whatsoever he is charged with; which is commonly more than the Worst Man ever deserved. And it is worthy the Observation, that, as no Innocent Man who made his Defence, ever Suffered in those times by Judgment of Parliament, so many Guilty persons, and against whom the Spirit of the times went as High, by the wise managing their Defence, have been Freed from their Accusers, not only without Censure, but without Reproach; as the Bishop of *Lincoln*, then Lord Keeper, *Sir H. Marten*, and *Sir H. Spiller*; Men, in their several degrees, as little beholden to the Charity of that time, as any Men since. Whereas scarce a Man, who, with Industry and Skill, labored to keep himself from being Accused, or by Power to stop or divert the Course of Proceeding, escaped without some Signal

BOOK I. Mark of Infamy, or Prejudice. And the Reason is clear, for besides that, after the first Storm, there is some Compassion naturally attends Men like to be in Misery; and, besides the latitude of Judging in those places, whereby there is room for Kindness and Affection, and collateral Considerations to interpose; the truth is, those Accusations (to which this Man contributes his Malice, another his Wit, all Men what they Please, and most upon Hear-say, with a kind of Uncharitable Delight of making the Charge as Heavy as may be) are commonly stuffed with many odious Generals, that the Proofs seldom make good: and then a Man is no sooner found less Guilty than he is expected, but he is concluded more Innocent than he is; and it is thought but a just Reparation for the Reproach that he deserved not. to Free him from the Censure he deserved. So that, very probably, those two Noble Persons had been happy, if they had stoutly submitted to the Proceedings were designed against them; and, without question, it had been of Sovereign Use to the King, if, in those Peaceable times, Parliaments had been Taught to know their own Bounds, by being suffered to Proceed as far as they could go; by which the Extent of their Power would quickly have been manifested: from whence no Inconvenience of moment could have Proceeded; the House of Commons never then pretending to the least part of Judicature, or Exceeding the known Verge of their own Privileges; the House of Peers observing the Rules of the Law and Equity in their Judgments, and

proceeding Deliberately upon clear Testimony and Evidence of matter of Fact ; and the King retaining the sole Power of Pardoning , and receiving the whole profit of all Penalties and Judgments ; and indeed having so great an influence upon the Body of the Peerage , that it was scarce known , that any Person of Honor was severely Censured in that House (before this present Parliament) who was not either immediately Prosecuted by the Court , or in evident Disfavor there ; by which , it may be (as it usually falls out) some Doors were opened , at which Inconveniencies to the Crown have got in , that were not then enough Weighed and Considered.

But the Course of Exempting Men from Prosecution , by Dissolving of Parliaments , made the Power of Parliaments much more Formidable , as conceived to be without Limit ; since the Sovereign Power seemed to be compelled (as unable otherwise to set Bounds to their Proceedings) to that rough Cure , and to determine their Beings , because it could not determine their Jurisdiction. Whereas if they had been frequently Summoned , and seasonably Dissolved , after their Wisdom in applying Medicines and Cures , as well as their industry in discovering Diseases , had been discerned , they would easily have been applied to the Uses for which they were first Instituted ; and been of no less Esteem with the Crown , than of Veneration with the People. And so I shall conclude this Digression , which , I conceived , was not unreasonable for this Place , nor upon this Occasion ,

B O O K and return to the Time, when that brisk, and
I. improvident Resolution was taken of declining those Conventions; all Men being Inhibited (as I said before they generally took themselves to be) by the Proclamation at the Dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth Year, so much as to mention or speak as if a Parliament should be called.

The State of
 the Court
 about that
 time.

And here it will give much Light to that which follows, if we take a View of the State of the Court, and of the Council at that time, by which we may best see the face of that time, and the Affections and Temper of the People in general.

The Rise of
 the Duke of
 Buckingham.

For the better taking this Prospect, we will begin with a survey of the Person of that great Man, the Duke of *Buckingham* (who was so barbarously Murdered about this time) whose Influence had been Unfortunate in the Public Affairs, and whose Death produced a change in all the Counsels. The Duke was indeed a very extraordinary Person, and never any Man, in any Age, nor, I believe, in any Country, or Nation, rose, in so short a time, to so much greatness of Honor, Fame, and Fortune, upon no other advantage or recommendation, than of the Beauty and Gracefulness of his Person. I have not the least purpose of undervaluing his good Parts and Qualities (of which there will be occasion shortly to give some testimony) when I say, that his first introduction into Favor, was purely from the Handsomeness of his Person.

He was a younger Son of Sir *George Villiers*, of *Brookesby* in the County of *Leicester*; a Family of an ancient extraction, even from the time of the Con-

quest, and Transported then with the Conqueror out of *Normandy*, where the Family hath still remained, and still continues with Lustre. After Sir *George's* first Marriage, in which he had two or three Sons, and Some Daughters, who shared an ample Inheritance from him; by a second Marriage with a Lady of the Family of the *Beaumonts*, he had this Gentleman, and two other Sons and a Daughter, who all came afterwards to be raised to great Titles and Dignities. *George*, the eldest Son of this second bed, was, after the death of his Father, by the singular affection and care of his Mother, who enjoyed a good Jointure, in the account of that Age, well brought up; and, for the improvement of his Education, and giving an Ornament to his hopeful Person, he was by Her sent into *France*; where he spent two or three Years in attaining the Language, and in Learning the exercises of Riding and Dancing; in the last of which he excelled most Men, and returned into *England* by the time he was 21 Years old.

King *James* Reigned at that time, and though he was a Prince of more Learning and Knowledge than any other of that Age, and really delighted more in Books, and in the conversation of Learned Men, yet, of all Wise Men living, he was the most delighted and taken with Handsome Persons, and Fine Clothes. He begun to be weary of his Favorite, the Earl of *Somerſet*, who was the only Favorite that kept that Post so long, without any public Reproach from the People. But, by the instigation and wickedness of his Wife, he became,

B O O K at least, privy to a horrible Murder, that exposed
 1. him to the utmost severity of the Law (the Poisoning of Sir *Thomas Overbury*) upon which both He, and his Wife were condemned to die, after a Trial by their Peers, and many Persons of Quality were Executed for the same.

Whilst this was in agitation, and before the utmost discovery was made, Mr. *Villiers* appeared in Court, and drew the King's eyes upon him. There were enough in the Court sufficiently angry, and incensed against *Somerſet*, for being what themselves desired to be, and especially for being a *Scots-man*, and ascending, in so short a time, from being a Page, to the Height he was then at, to contribute all they could to promote the One, that they might throw out the Other: which being easily brought to pass, by the proceeding of the Law upon his aforesaid Crime, the Other found very little difficulty in rendering himself Gracious to the King, whose Nature and Disposition was very flowing in affection towards Persons so adorned. Infomuch that, in few days after his first appearance in Court, he was made Cup-bearer to the King, by which he was, of course, to be much in his Presence, and so admitted to that conversation and discourse, with which that Prince always abounded at his meals.

His Inclinations to his new Cup-bearer disposed him to administer frequent occasions of discoursing of the Court of *France*, and the Transactions there, with which he had been so lately acquainted, that he could pertinently enlarge upon that Subject, to the King's great delight, and to the gaining the
 esteem

esteem and value of all the flanders by to Himself : B O O K
 which was a thing the King was well pleased with. I.
 He acted very few weeks upon this Stage, when he
 mounted Higher; and, being Knighted, without
 any other Qualification, he was at the same time
 made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and Knight
 of the Order of the Garter, and in a short time (very
 short for such a prodigious Ascent) he was made a
 Baron, a Viscount, an Earl, a Marquis, and became
 Lord high Admiral of *England*, Lord Warden of the
 Cinque Ports, Master of the Horse, and entirely
 disposed of all the Graces of the King, in conferring
 all the Honors, and all the Offices of three Kingdoms
 without a Rival; in dispensing whereof, he was
 guided more by the rules of Appetite, than of Judge-
 ment, and so, exalted almost all of his own nume-
 rous Family, and Dependants; whose greatest Merit
 was their Alliance to Him; which equally offended
 the ancient Nobility, and the People of all condi-
 tions, who saw the Flowers of the Crown every day
 fading, and withered; whilst the Demefnes, and
 Revenue thereof were Sacrificed to the enriching a
 Private Family (how well soever originally ex-
 tracted) scarce ever heard of before to the Nation,
 and the expenses of the Court so vast and unlimited,
 that they had a sad prospect of that Poverty, and
 Necessity, which afterwards beset the Crown,
 almost to the Ruin of it.

Many were of opinion, that King *James* before
 his death, grew weary of this Favorite, and that, if
 he had lived, he would have deprived him at
 least of his large, and unlimited Power. And this

BOOK I. imagination so prevailed with some Men, as the Lord Keeper *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Middlesex*, Lord high Treasurer of *England*, and other Gentlemen of Name, though not in so high Stations, that they had the Courage to withdraw from their absolute dependance upon the Duke, and to make some other Effays, which proved to the Ruin of every one of them; there appearing no mark or evidence, that the King did really lessen his affection to Him, to the hour of his death. On the contrary, as he Created him Duke of *Buckingham* in his Absence, whilst he was with the Prince in *Spain*, so, after their Return, the Duke executed the same Authority in conferring all Favors and Graces, and in revenging himself upon those who had manifested any unkindness towards him. And yet notwithstanding all this, if that King's Nature had equally disposed him to pull down, as to build and erect; and if his Courage and Severity in punishing and reforming. had been as great, as his Generosity and Inclination was to oblige, it is not to be doubted, but that he would have withdrawn his affection from the Duke entirely, before his death; which those Persons who were admitted to any Privacy with him, and were not in the Confidence of the Other (for before Those he knew well how to dissemble) had reason enough to expect.

An account
of Prince
Charles'
Journey into
Spain.

For it is certain, that the King was never well pleased with the Duke, after the Prince's going into *Spain*; which was infinitely against his Will, and contrived wholly by the Duke: Who, out of Envy, that the Earl of *Bristol* should have the sole

management of so great an Affair (as hitherto that Treaty had been wholly Conducted by him in *Spain*, where he was Extraordinary Ambassador, and all particulars upon the matter agreed upon) had one day insinuated to the Prince the common misfortune of Princes, that in so Substantial a part of their Happiness in this World, as depended upon their Marriage, Themselves had never any part, but must receive only an account from others of the Nature, and Humor, and Beauty of the Ladies they were to Marry; and those Reports seldom proceeded from Persons totally Uninterested, by reason of the parts they had acted towards such preparations. From hence he discoursed, how Gallant and how Brave a thing it would be, for his Highness to make a Journey into *Spain*, and to fetch home his Mistress; that it would put an end presently to all those Formalities, which (though all Substantial matters were agreed upon already) according to the Style of that Court, and the slow progress in all things of Ceremony, might yet retard the Infanta's Voyage into *England* many Months; all which would be in a moment removed by his Highness' own Presence; that it would be such an Obligation to the Infanta herself, as She could never enough value or requite, and being a Respect rarely paid by any other Prince, upon the like Addressees, could proceed only from the high Regard and Reverence he had for her Person; that in the great Affair that only remained undetermined, and was not entirely yielded to, though under a very Friendly deliberation, which was the Restoring the *Palatinate*, it was very probable, that the King of

B O O K
I.

B O O K *Spain* himself might chuse, in the instant, to gratify
 I. his Personal Interposition, which, in a Treaty with
 an Ambassador, might be drawn out in length, or
 attended with overtures of Recompence by some
 new Concessions, which would create new Diffi-
 culties; However, that the Mediation could not
 but be frankly undertaken by the Infanta herself, who
 would ambitiously make it her work to pay a part of
 her great Debt to the Prince, and that he might,
 with Her, and by Her, present to his Majesty the
 entire Peace, and Restitution of his Family; which
 by no other Human Means could be brought to pass.

These discourses made so deep impression upon the
 Mind and Spirit of the Prince (whose Nature was
 inclined to Adventures) that he was transported
 with the Thought of it, and most impatiently soli-
 citous to bring it to pass. The greatest Difficulty in
 view was, how they might procure the King's con-
 sent, who was very Quick-sighted in discerning
 difficulties, and raising objections, and very Slow
 in mastering them, and untying the knots he had
 made; In a word, he knew not how to wrestle with
 desperate Contingencies, and so abhorred the being
 entangled in Such. This was first to be attempted by
 the Prince himself, by communicating it to the King,
 as his earnest desire and suit, with this circumstance,
 that Since his doing, or not doing what he most
 desired, depended wholly and entirely upon his
 Majesty's own Approbation and Command, he
 would vouchsafe to promise Not to Communicate the
 thing proposed, before he had first taken his Own
 Resolution; and that this condition should be first

humbly insisted on, before the Substantial Point should be Communicated; and so this approach being first made, the success and prosecution was to be left to the Duke's credit and dexterity. All things being thus concerted between his Highness and the Duke (and this the beginning of an entire Confidence between them, after a long time of declared Jealousy and Displeasure on the Prince's part, and Occasion enough administered on the Other) they shortly found fit opportunity (and there were Seasons when that King was to be approached more hopefully than in others) to make their address Together. His Majesty cheerfully consented to the Condition, and being well pleased that all should depend upon his Will, frankly promised, that he would not, in any degree, Communicate to any Person the matter, before he had taken, and Communicated to Them his Own Resolutions.

The Prince then, upon his knees, declared his Suit and very importunate Request, the Duke standing a long time by, without saying a word, while the King discoursed the whole matter to the Prince, with less Passion than they expected, and then looked upon the Duke, as inclined to hear what He would say; who spoke nothing to the point whether, in prudence, Advisable or Not; but enlarged upon the infinite Obligation, his Majesty would confer upon the Prince, by his Yielding to the violent Passion his Highness was transported with; and, after many exalted expressions to that purpose, concluded, that he doubted, that his Majesty, refusing to grant the Prince this his humble Request, would make a

The Prince
proposes his
Journey to
his Father.

BOOK I. deep Impression upon his Spirits, and peace of Mind; and that he would, he feared, look upon it as the greatest Misfortune and Affliction, that could befall him in this World. The Prince, then taking the opportunity, from the good Temper he saw his Father in, to enlarge upon those two Points, which he knew were most Important in the King's Own wishes and judgment, That this expedient would put a quick end to this Treaty, which could not be Continued, after his Arrival in that Court, but that his Marriage must presently ensue, which, he knew well enough, the King did most impatiently desire of all Blessings in this World: He said likewise, he would undertake (and he could not but be believed from the Reasonableness of it) that his Presence would, in a moment, Determine the Restitution of the *Palatinate* to his Brother and Sister; which was the Second thing the King longed most passionately to see, before he should leave this World.

King James
Consents to it.

These discourses, urged with all the artifice and address imaginable, so far wrought upon, and prevailed with the King, that, with less hesitation than his Nature was accustomed to, and much less than was agreeable to his great Wisdom, he gave his approbation, and promised that the Prince should make the Journey he was so much inclined to. Whether he did not upon the Sudden comprehend the consequences, which would Naturally attend such a rash undertaking, or the less considered them, because Provisions, which must be made for such a Journey, both with reference to the expence, and security of it, would take up much time, and could

not be done in such a secret way, but that the Counsellors might be resumed, when new measures should be taken. But this imagination was too Reasonable not to be Foreseen by them, and so they had provided themselves accordingly. And therefore, as soon as they had the King's promise upon the main, they told him, the Security of such a design depended on the Expedition, without which there could be no Secrecy observed or hoped for; That, if it were deferred till such a Fleet could be made ready, and such an Equipage prepared as might be fit for the Prince of *Wales*, so much time would be spent, as would Disappoint the principal Ends of the Journey; if they should send for a Pass to *France*, the Ceremony in asking and granting it, and that which would flow from it, in his passage through that Kingdom, would be, at least, liable to the same objection of Delay: besides that, according to the mysteries and intrigues of State, such a Pass could not in point of security be reasonably Depended upon; and therefore they had thought of an Expedient, which would avoid all Inconveniencies and Hazards; and that it should be Executed before it should be Suspected; that it had never hitherto been, in the least degree, consulted but between Themselves (which was really true) and therefore, if they now undertook the Journey only with two Servants, who should not know any thing till the moment they were to depart, they might easily pass through *France*, before they should be Missed at *Whitehall*; which was not hard to be conceived, and so with the less disquisition was consented to by the

BOOK
I.

B O O K I. King ; and the farther Deliberation of what was more to be done both in matter , and manner , and the Nomination of the Persons who should attend Them , and the Time for their departure was deferred to the consultation of the next day.

When the King , in his Retirement , and by himself , came to Revolve what had been so loosely Consulted before , as he had a wonderful Sagacity in such Reflections , a thousand Difficulties and Dangers occurred to him , and so many Precipices , which could hardly be avoided in such a Journey ; besides those considerations , which the violent Affection of a Father to his only Son , suggested to him , he thought how ill an influence it might have on his People , too much disposed to murmur and complain of the least Inadvertency ; and that they looked upon the Prince as the Son of the Kingdom , as well as his Own. He considered the Reputation he should lose with all Foreign Princes (especially if any Ill Accident should happen) by so much departing from his Dignity in exposing the immediate Heir of the Crown , his only Son , to all the Dangers , and all the Jealousies , which particular Malice , or that fathomless abyss of Reason of State , might prepare and contrive against him ; and then , in how desperate a condition Himself , and his Kingdoms should remain , if the Prince miscarried by such an unparalleled weakness of his , contrary to the light of his Understanding , as well as the current of his Affections.

These Reflections were so Terrible to him , that they Robbed him of all Peace and Quiet of Mind ; insomuch as when the Prince , and Duke came to

him about the Despatch, he fell into a great Passion with Tears, and told them, that he was Undone, and that it would break his heart, if they pursued their Resolution; that upon a true and dispassionate disquisition he had made with Himself, he was abundantly convinced, that, besides the almost inevitable Hazards of the Prince's Person, with whom his life was bound up, and besides the entire Loss of the affections of his People, which would unavoidably attend this rash action, he foresaw it would ruin the whole design, and irrecoverably Break the Match. For whereas all those Particulars, upon which he could positively and of right Insist, were fully Granted (for That, which concerned the Prince Elector, who had unexcusably and directly against his Advice, incurred the Ban of the Empire in an Imperial Diet, must be wrought off by Mediation and Treaty, could not be insisted on in Justice) nor could *Spain* make any new Demands, all the Overtures they had made being Adjusted; the Prince should no sooner arrive at *Madrid*, than all the Articles of the Treaty should be laid Aside, and New matter be proposed, which had not been yet mentioned, and could never be consented to by him; That the Treaty of this Marriage, how well soever received, and how much soever desired by the King, and his Chief Ministers, was, in no degree, acceptable to the *Spanish* Nation in general, and less to the Court of *Rome*, where, though the new Pope seemed more inclined to grant the Dispensation than his Predecessor had been, it was plain enough, that it proceeded only from the apprehension he had

B O O K to Displease the King of *Spain*, not that he was less
I. averse from the Match, it having been always
believed both in *Spain*, and in *Rome*, that this Marriage was to be attended with a full Repeal of all the Penal Laws against the Papists, and a plenary Toleration of the Exercise of that Religion in *England*, which they now saw concluded without any signal or real Benefit, or Advantage to them. And therefore they might expect, and be confident, that when they had the Person of the Prince of *Wales* in their Hands, the King of *Spain* (though in his own nature and inclinations full of Honor and Justice) would be even Compelled by his Clergy (who had always a great influence upon the Counsels of that Kingdom) and the Importunities from *Rome*, who would tell him, that God had put it now into his Hand to advance the Catholic Cause, to make new Demands for those of that Religion here; which, though he could never consent to, would, at best, interpose such Delays in the Marriage, that he should never live to see it brought to pass, nor probably to see his Return again from *Spain*. Then he put the Duke in mind (whom he hitherto believed only to comply with the Prince, to Oblige him, after a long alienation from his Favor) how inevitable his Ruin must be, by the effect of this Counsel, how Ungracious he was already with the People, and how many Enemies he had, amongst the greatest Persons of the Nobility, who would make such use of this occasion, that it would not be in his Majesty's Power to Protect him. And then he Concluded with the Disorder and Passion, with which he begun, with Sighs and

Tears, to conjure them, that they would no more press him to give his Consent to a Thing so contrary to his Reason, and Understanding, and Interest, the Execution whereof would break his Heart, and that they would give over any further pursuit of it. B O O K I.

The Prince, and the Duke took not the pains to answer any of the Reasons his Majesty had insisted on; his Highness only putting him in mind of the Promise he had made to him the day before, which was so Sacred, that he hoped he would not Violate it; which if he should, it would make him never think more of Marriage. The Duke, who better knew, what kind of Arguments were of Prevalence with him, Treated him more Rudely; told him, No body could believe any thing he Said, when he retracted so soon the promise he so solemnly made; that he plainly discerned, that it proceeded from another Breach of his Word, in Communicating with some Rascal, who had furnished him with those Pitiful Reasons he had alledged, and he doubted not but he should hereafter know who his Counsellor had been; That if he receded from what he had promised, it would be such a Disobligation to the Prince, who had set his heart now upon the Journey, after his Majesty's approbation, that he could never Forget it, nor Forgive any Man who had been the Cause of it.

The Prince, who had always expressed the highest Duty and Reverence towards the King, by his humble and importunate Entreaty, and the Duke, by his rougher Dialect, in the end prevailed so far (after his Majesty had Passionately, and with many

BOOK I. Oaths renounced the having Communicated the matter with any Person living) that the debate was again resumed upon the journey, which they earnestly desired might not be Deferred, but that they might take their leaves of the King within two days, in which they would have all things ready that were necessary, his Highness pretending to Hunt at *Theobald's*, and the Duke to take Physic at *Chelfey*.

They told him, that being to have only Two more in their company, as was before resolved, they had thought (if he approved them) upon Sir *Francis Cottington*, and *Endymion Porter*, who, though they might safely, should not be Trusted with the Secret, till they were even ready to be embarked. The Persons were both Grateful to the King, the former having been long his Majesty's Agent in the Court of *Spain*, and was now Secretary to the Prince; the other, having been bred in *Madrid*, after many years attendance upon the Duke, was now one of the Bed-chamber to the prince: So that his Majesty cheerfully approved the election they had made, and wished it might be presently imparted to them; saying that many things would occur to them, as necessary to the journey, that they two would never think of; and took that occasion to send for Sir *Francis Cottington* to come presently to him (whilst the other remained with him) who being of custom, waiting in the outward room, was quickly brought in; whilst the Duke whispered the Prince in the ear, that *Cottington* would be against the Journey, and his Highness answered he Durst not.

The King told him, that he had always been an Honest man, and therefore he was now to Trust him in an Affair of the Highest Importance, which he was not, upon his life, to Disclose, to any man alive; then said to him, *Cottington* here is *Baby Charles* and *Stenny* (an appellation he always used, of and towards the Duke) who have a great mind to go by Post into *Spain*, to fetch Home the Infanta, and will have but Two more in their company, and have chosen You for one. What think you of the journey? (He often protested since, that, when he heard the King, he fell into such a trembling that he could hardly speak. But when the King Commanded him to answer him, what He thought of the journey) he replied that he could not think Well of it, and that he believed, it would render all that had been done towards the Match, Fruitless: for that *Spain* would no longer think themselves Obligated by those Articles, but that, when they had the Prince in their hands, they would make New overtures, which they believed more Advantageous to them; amongst which they must look for many that would concern Religion, and the Exercise of it in *England*. Upon which the King threw himself upon his bed, and said, I told you this before, and fell into new Passion, and Lamentation, that he was Undone and should Lose *Baby Charles*.

There appeared Displeasure and Anger enough in the Countenances both of the Prince and Duke; the latter saying that, as soon as the King sent for him, he whispered the Prince in the ear, that he would be against it: that he knew his Pride well enough; and

B O O K that, because he had not been first advised with,
I. he was resolved to dislike it; and therefore he reproached *Cottington* with all possible bitterness of Words, told him the King asked him only of the Journey, and which would be the best Way, of which he might be a competent counsellor, having made the way so often by Post; but that he had the presumption to give his advice upon Matter of State, and against his Master, without being called to it, which he should repent as long as he lived; with a thousand new reproaches, which put the poor King into a New Agony, on the behalf of a Servant, who he foresaw would Suffer for answering him Honestly. Upon which he said, with some commotion. Nay, by God, *Stenny*, you are very much to blame to use him so; he answered me directly to the Question I asked him, and very Honestly and Wisely: and yet you know he said no more than I told you, before he was called in. However, after all this passion on both parts, the King Yielded; and the Journey was at that conference agreed on, and all directions given accordingly to Sir *Francis Cottington*; the King having now plainly discovered, that the Whole Intrigue was originally Contrived by the Duke, and so violently Pursued by His spirit and impetuosity.

The manner, circumstances, and conclusion of that Voyage, with the Extraordinary Accidents that happened in it, will no doubt be at large remembered by whosoever shall have the courage to write the transactions of that Time, with that Integrity he ought to do: in which it will manifestly appear, how much of the Prophet was in the wisdom of the King;

and that that designed Marriage, which had been so many years in Treaty, even from the Death of Prince *Harry*, and so near concluded, was solely Broken by that Journey; which, with the passages before mentioned, King *James* never Forgave the Duke of *Buckingham*; but retained as sharp a memory of it, as His nature could contain.

This Indisposition of the King towards the Duke was exceedingly increased, and aggravated, upon and after the Prince's return out of *Spain*. For though it brought infinite Joy and Delight to his Majesty, which he expressed in all imaginable Transport, and was the argument of the loudest, and most universal rejoicing over the whole Kingdom, that the Nation had ever been acquainted with; in which the Duke had so full a Harvest, that the Imprudence, and Presumption (to say no more) of carrying the Prince into *Spain* was totally Forgotten, or not remembered with any Reference to him, and the high Merit and inestimable Obligation, in bringing him Home, was Remembered, Magnified, and Celebrated by all Men in all Places; Yet the King was wonderfully disquieted, when he found (which he had not, before their Return, suspected) that the Prince was totally Alienated from all thoughts of, or inclination to the Marriage, and that they were resolved to Break it with, or without his approbation, or consent. And in This the Duke resumed the same impetuosity he had so much indulged to Himself in the debate of the journey into *Spain*.

The King had, upon the Prince's Return issued out Writs to call a Parliament, which was in the 21st

A Parliament
is Called after
the Prince's
Return.

B O O K year of his Reign, thinking it necessary with relation to the perplexities he was in, for the Breach of this Match with *Spain* (which he foresaw must ensue) and the Sad condition of his Only Daughter in *Germany*, with her numerous Issue, to receive their grave Advice. By the time the Parliament could meet, the Prince's entire Confidence being reposed still in the Duke, as the King's seemed to be, the Duke had wrought himself into the very great Esteem and Confidence of the principal Members of both Houses of Parliament, who were most like to be the Leading Men, and had all a desire to have as much Reputation in the Court, as they had in the Country: It was very reasonably thought necessary, that as the King would, at the opening of the Parliament, make mention of the Treaty with *Spain*, and more at large of his Daughter's being driven out of the *Palatinate*, which would require their assistance and aid; so that the Prince and Duke should afterwards, to one or both Houses, as occasion should be offered, make a Relation of what had passed in *Spain*, especially concerning the *Palatinate*: that so the Houses being put into some Method and Order of their future debate, they might be more easily regulated, than if they were in the beginning left to that Liberty, which they naturally affected, and from which they would not be restrained, but in such a manner, as would be grateful to Themselves.

Things being thus concerted, after the Houses had been three or four days together (for, in that time, some days were always spent in the formality of naming Committees, and providing for common Occurrences;

Occurrences; before they made an entrance upon more solemn Debates) the prince began to speak of the *Spanish* Affairs, and of his own Journey thither, and forgot not to mention the Duke with more than ordinary affection. Where upon it was thought fit, that the whole Affair, which was likewise to be the principal Subject Matter of all their Consultations, should be stated and enlarged upon, in a Conference between the two Houses, which his Highness and the Duke were desired to manage. How little notice soever any body else could take of the Change, the Duke himself too well knew the hearty resentment the King had of what had passed, and the affection he still had for the *Spanish* Treaty: and therefore he had done, and resolved still to do, all he could, to make himself grateful to the Parliament; and popular amongst the People; who, he knew, had always detested the Match with *Spain*, or in truth any Alliance with that Nation.

So when, at the Conference, the Prince had made a short Introduction to the business, and said some very kind things of the Duke, of his wonderful Care of him, whilst he was in *Spain*, and the great Dexterity he used in getting him away; he referred the whole Relation to Him: Who said, "That the true Ground of the Prince's Journey into *Spain*, which, he well knew, had begot such a terrible panting in the hearts of all good Englishmen, had been only to make a clear discovery of the Sincerity of the Spaniard, and, if his intentions were real, to put a speedy End to it by marrying of the Lady upon the place; if he found it otherwise, to put

B O O K
I.

The Prince's
and Duke's
Account of the
Journey at a
Conference
between both
Houses.

B O O K

1.

“ his Father, and himself at liberty to dispose of
 “ Himself in some other place. That the Ambassador
 “ in whose hands that great Affair was solely managed,
 “ ed, when, in one Despatch, he writ that all was
 “ Concluded, in the next, used to give an account
 “ of new Difficulties, and new Demands; And,
 “ when all things were Adjusted at *Madrid*, some
 “ unexpected Scruples discovered themselves at
 “ *Rome*, with which the Councils in *Spain* seemed to
 “ be surpris'd, and appeared to be confounded, and
 “ not to know what to say. These Ebbs and Floods
 “ made the Prince apprehend, that the purpose was
 “ to amuse Us, whilst They had other Designs in
 “ secret agitation. And thereupon, that his Highness
 “ had prevail'd with his Father (how unwilling
 “ soever) to permit him to make the Journey, that he
 “ might make that useful Discovery, which could
 “ not otherwise be made in any seasonable time.

“ That they no sooner came to *Madrid*, than they
 “ Discovered (though the Prince was treated with
 “ all the Respect due to his Greatness, and the Obligation
 “ he had laid upon that Nation) that there
 “ had never been any real purpose that the Infanta
 “ should be given to him: That, during so long an
 “ abode, as his Highness made there, they had never
 “ procured the Dispensation from *Rome*; which they
 “ might easily have done: And that at last, upon
 “ the death of the Pope, *Gregory* he 15th, the whole
 “ Process was to begin again and would be transacted
 “ with the Formalities which they should find necessary
 “ to their other affairs. That, instead of Proceeding
 “ upon the Articles, which had been pretended

“ to be Concluded , they urged nothing but New
 “ demands ; and , in matters of Religion , so Peremp-
 “ torily , that the principal Clergymen , and the
 “ most eminent of that King’s Preachers , had frequent
 “ Conferences with the Prince , to persuade him to
 “ change his Religion , and become a Papist. And ,
 “ in order to move him the more successfully
 “ thereunto , they procured the Pope to write a
 “ Letter himself to his Highness , putting him in
 “ mind of the Religion of his Ancestors , and pro-
 “ genitors , and conjuring him to return to the
 “ same Faith ; but that it had pleased God not
 “ only to give the prince a constant , and unshaken
 “ Heart in his Religion , but such wonderful abilities
 “ to Defend the same in his Discourse , and Argu-
 “ ments , that they stood amazed to Hear him , and
 “ upon the matter confessed that they were not able
 “ to Answer him.

“ That they would not suffer the Prince to confer
 “ with , or so much as to speak to , hardly , and very
 “ rarely to see his Mistress , whom they pretended
 “ he should forthwith marry. That they could never
 “ obtain any better answer in the business of the
 “ *Palatinate* , than that the Restoring it was not in
 “ the power of that King , though it had been taken
 “ by the sole power of *Spain* , and the *Spanish* Army ,
 “ under the Command of the Marquis *Spinola* ,
 “ who was then in the entire Possession of it ; but
 “ that his Catholic Majesty would use his Inter-
 “ position , with all the credit he had with the Em-
 “ peror and Duke of *Bavaria* , without whose joint
 “ consent it could not be done , and whose consent he

BOOK

I.

“ hoped to obtain ; but that He was well assured ;
 “ that there was no more real intention in that point
 “ of Restitution, than in the other of Marriage ; and
 “ that the *Palatinate* could not be hoped to be re-
 “ covered any other way than by Force, which
 “ would easily bring it to pass.

Throughout his whole discourse he made frequent Reflections upon the Earl of *Bristol*, as if he very well knew the *Spaniards* purposes in the whole, and concurred with them in it. “ That he was so much
 “ troubled, when he first saw the Prince, who alighted
 “ at his house, that he could not contain himself,
 “ but wished that his Highness were at Home again :
 “ That he had afterwards, when he found that his
 “ Highness liked the Infanta, persuaded him in
 “ private that he would become a Papist ; and that,
 “ without changing his Religion, it would not be
 “ possible ever to compass that Marriage.

He told them, “ That the King had sent for the
 “ Earl to return Home, where he should be called
 “ to account for all his Miscarriages.” Whereas in truth the King had recalled him rather to assist him against the Duke, than to expose him to his Malice, and Fury ; his Majesty having a great esteem of that Earl’s Fidelity to him, and of his great Abilities.

The Parlia-
 ment’s Resolu-
 tion upon it to
 declare a War
 with Spain.

The Conference ended in a wonderful Applause in both Houses, of the Prince and Duke’s behaviour, and carriage throughout the Affair, and in a hasty Resolution to Dissuade the King from entertaining any farther motions towards the Match, and frankly and resolutely to enter into a War with *Spain*, towards the carrying on of which they raised great mountains

of Promises, and, prevailing in the First, never remembered to make good the Latter; which too often falls out in such Counsels.

When King *James* was informed of what the Duke had so confidently avowed, for which he had not authority, or the least direction from Him; and a great part whereof himself knew to be untrue; and that he had advised an utter Breach of the Treaty, and to enter upon a War with *Spain*, he was infinitely offended; so that he wanted only a resolute and brisk Counsellor, to assist him in destroying the Duke: and such a one he promised himself in the arrival of the Earl of *Bristol*, whom he expected every day.

King James' Perplexities, and Displeasure against the Duke upon That occasion.

His Majesty had another Exception against the Duke, which touched him as near, and in which he enlarged himself much more. *Lionel Cranfield*, who (though extracted from a Gentleman's Family) had been bred in the City, and, being a Man of great Wit and Understanding in all the mysteries of Trade, had found means to work himself into the good opinion and favor of the Duke of *Buckingham*; and, having shortly after Married a near Relation of the Duke's, with wonderful expedition was made a Privy-Counsellor, Master of the Wardrobe, Master of the Wards, and, without parting with any of these, was now become Lord high Treasurer of *England*, and Earl of *Middlesex*, and had gained so much Credit with the King (being in truth a Man of great parts and notable dexterity) that, during the Duke's absence in *Spain*, he was not only negligent in the issuing out such sums of Money, as were necessary for the defraying those unlimited Expenses,

The Earl of Middlesex his Rise, and Fall.

BOOK I. and to correspond with Him with that Deference he had used to do, but had the Courage to dispute His commands, and to Appeal to the King, whose Ear was always inclined to him, and in Whom he begun to believe himself so far fastened, that he should not stand in need of the future Support of the Favorite. And of all this the Duke could not be without ample information, as well from his own Creatures, who were near enough to observe; as from others, who, caring for Neither of them, were more scandalized at so precipitate a Promotion of a Person of such an education, and whom they had long known so Much their Inferior, though it could not be denied that he Filled the Places he held with great Abilities.

The Duke no sooner found the Parliament disposed to a good opinion of him, and being well assured of the Prince's first kindness, than he projected the Ruin of this bold Rival of his; of whom he saw clearly enough that the King had so good an opinion, that it would not be in his sole Power to crush Him, as he had done others, in the same, and as high a Station. And so he easily procured some Leading Men in the House of Commons, to cause an Impeachment for several Corruptions and Misdemeanours, to be sent up to the House of Peers against that great Minister, whom they had so lately known their Equal in that House; which (besides their natural Inclination to that kind of Correction) disposed Them with great alacrity to this Prosecution. The wise King knew well enough the ill Consequence, that must attend Such an activity; and that it would

shake his Own Authority in the Choice of his Own B O O K
 Ministers, when they should find, that their Security 1.
 did not depend solely upon his Own Protection :
 Which Breach upon his Kingly Power was so much
 without a Precedent (except one unhappy one made
 three Years before , to gratify likewise a Private
 displeasure) that the like had not been practised in
 very many Years.

When this Prosecution was first entered upon, and
 that the King clearly discerned it was contrived by
 the Duke , and that he had likewise prevailed with
 the Prince to be well pleased with it ; his Majesty
 sent for them , and with much warmth and passion ,
 dissuaded them from appearing Farther in it ; and
 conjured them “ to use all their Interest and Authority
 “ to restrain it, as such a Wound to the Crown , that
 “ would not be easily healed. And when he found
 the Duke unmoved by all the considerations , and
 arguments, and commands, he had offered, he said,
 in great Choler, “ By God , *Stenny*, you are a Fool,
 “ and will shortly repent this folly , and will find,
 “ that, in this Fit of Popularity, you are making a
 “ Rod, with which you will be scourged your Self :”
 And turning in some anger to the Prince , told him,
 “ That he would live to have his belly full of Parlia-
 “ ment-Impeachments : and when I shall be dead,
 “ you will have too much cause to remember , how
 “ much You have contributed to the Weakening of
 “ the Crown, by the two Precedents you are Now
 “ so Fond of ; intending as well the Engaging the
 Parliament in the War, as the Prosecution of the
 Earl of *Middlesex*.

B O O K But the Duke's power (supported by the Prince's
 1. countenance) was grown so great in the two Houses, that it was in vain for the King to interpose; and so (notwithstanding so good a Defence made by the Earl, that he was absolved from any notorious Crime, by the impartial opinion of many of those who heard all the Evidence) he was at last condemned in a great Fine, to a long and strict Imprisonment, and never to sit in Parliament during his Life: a clause of such a nature as was never before found in any judgment of Parliament, and, in truth not to be inflicted upon any Peer but by Attainder.

How much alienated soever the King's Affection was in truth from the Duke, upon these three Provocations; (1) The Prince's journey into *Spain*; (2) the engaging the Parliament to break the Match, and Treaty with *Spain*, and to make war against that Crown; and (3) The Sacrificing the Earl of *Middlesex* in such a manner, upon his Own animosity; yet he was so far from thinking fit to manifest it (except in whispers to very few men) that he was prevailed with to restrain the Earl of *Bristol* upon his first arrival, without permitting him to come into his Presence, which he had positively promised, and resolved to do; and in the end suffered his Attorney General to exhibit a charge of High Treason, in his Majesty's name, against the said Earl, who was thereupon committed to the Tower; but so little dejected with it, that he answered the Articles with great steadiness and unconcernedness, and exhibited another, charge of High Treason against the Duke, in many particulars.

And in this Order and Method the War was hastily

The Earl of
 Bristol Accus-
 ed in Parlia-
 ment.

Accuses the
 Duke.

entered into against *Spain*, and a new Treaty set on foot for the Prince of *Wales* with the Daughter of *France*; which was quickly Concluded, though not fully Completed till after the death of King *James*; who, in the Spring following, after a short indisposition by the Gout, fell into an Ague, which meeting many humors in a fat, unwieldy body of 58 years old, in four or five Fits, carried him out of the world. After whose death many scandalous, and libellous Discourses were raised, without the least color, or ground; as appeared upon the strictest and most malicious Examination that could be made, long after, in a time of Licence, when no body was afraid of offending Majesty, and when prosecuting the highest Reproaches, and Contumelies against the Royal Family, was held very meritorious.

B O O K
I.

K. James dies.

Upon the death of King *James*, *Charles* Prince of *Wales* succeeded to the Crown, with as universal Joy in the People as can be imagined, and in a Conjunction, when all the other Parts of *Christendom*, being engaged in War, were very solicitous for his Friendship; and the more, because he had already discovered an Activity, that was not like to suffer him to sit still. The Duke continued in the Same degree of Favor at the least, with the Son, which he enjoyed so many years under the Father. A rare Felicity! seldom known, and in which the expectation of very many was exceedingly disappointed; who, knowing the great jealousy and indignation, that the Prince had heretofore conceived against the Duke, for having been once very near Striking him, expected that he would Now remember that Info-

Prince Charles
succeeds him,
the Duke con-
tinuing in
Favor.

B O O K
I.

lence, of which he Then so often complained; without considering the opportunity the Duke had, by the conversation with the Prince, during his journey into *Spain* (which was so grateful to him) and whilst he was there, to wipe out the memory of all former Oversight by making them appear to be of a less magnitude than they had been understood before, and to be excusable from other causes. Still being severe enough to himself for his Unwary part, whatsoever excuses he might make for the Excess: and by this means to make new Vows for himself, and to tie new Knots to restrain the Prince from future jealousies. And it is very true, his hopes in this kind never failed him; the new King from the death of the old, even to the death of the Duke himself, discovering the most entire Confidence in, and even Friendship to Him, that ever King had showed to any Subject: all Preferments in Church and State given by him; all his Kindred, and Friends promoted to the degree in Honor, or Riches, or Offices, that He thought fit, and all his Enemies and Enviars discountenanced, as He appointed.

King Charles'
First Parlia-
ment called.

But a Parliament was necessary to be called, as at the entrance of all Kings to the Crown, for the continuance of some Supplies and Revenue to the King, which have been still used to be granted in that season. And now he quickly found how Prophetic the last King's Predictions had proved, and were like to prove. The Parliament that had so rashly advanced the War, and so passionately adhered to his Person, was now no more; and though the House of Peers consisted still of the same men, and most of the principal men of the House of Commons were again elected to

serve in this Parliament, yet they were far from wedding the War, or taking themselves to be concerned to make good any Declaration made by the former: So that though the War was entered In, all hope of obtaining money to carry it On was even desperate; and the affection they had for the Duke, and confidence in him, was not Then so manifest, as the Prejudice they had Now, and animosity against him, was visible to all the world: All the Actions of his life ripped up, and surveyed, and all malicious Glosses made upon all he had said, and all he had done: Votes and Remonstrances passed against him as an Enemy to the Public; and his ill Management made the ground of their Refusal to give the King that Supply he had reason to expect, and was absolutely necessary to the state he was in. And this kind of treatment was so ill suited to the Duke's great Spirit, which indeed might have easily been Bowed, but could very hardly be broken, that it wrought contrary effects upon his high mind, and indignation, to find himself so used by the same Men. For they who flattered him most Before, mentioned him Now with the greatest bitterness and acrimony; and the same Men who had called him our Saviour, for bringing the prince safe out of *Spain*, called him now the Corrupter of the King, and Betrayer of the Liberties of the People, without imputing the least crime to him, to have been committed since the time of that exalted Adulation, or that was not then as much known to them, as it could be now: so fluctuating and unsteady a testimony is the Applause of Popular Councils.

B O O K

I.

That Parlia-
ment and the
next, Dissolved
on account of
the Duke.

This indignation, I say, so transported the Duke, that he thought necessary to publish and manifest a greater Contempt of Them, than he should have done; causing this and the next Parliament to be quickly Dissolved, as soon as they seemed to entertain Counsels not grateful to him, and before he could well determine, and judge, what their Temper was in truth like to prove: and upon every Dissolution, Such as had given any Offence, were Imprisoned, or Disgraced; new Projects were every day set on foot for Money, which served only to offend, and incense the People and brought little supplies to the King's occasions; yet raised a great stock for expostulation, murmur, and complaint, to be exposed when other supplies should be required. And many Persons, of the best quality and condition under the Peerage, were Committed to several Prisons, with circumstances unusual and unheard of, for refusing to pay Money required by those extraordinary ways; and the Duke himself would passionately Say, and frequently Do many things, which only grieved his Friends, and incensed his Enemies, and gave them as well the Ability, as the Inclination to do him much Harm.

A War de-
clared with
France.

In this fatal Conjunction, and after many several costly Embassies into *France*, in the last of which the Duke himself went, and brought triumphantly home with him the Queen to the joy of the Nation; in a time, when all endeavours should have been used to have extinguished that War, in which the King was so unhappily engaged against *Spain*, a new War was as precipitately declared against *France*, and the Fleet, that had been unwarily designed to have

Surprised *Cadiz*, under a General very unequal to B O O K
that great work, was no sooner returned without I.
success, and with much damage, than it was repaired,
and the Army reinforced for the Invasion of *France*;
in which the Duke was General himself, and made
that unfortunate Descent upon the Isle of *Re*, which
was quickly afterwards attended with many unprof-
perous Attempts, and then with a miserable Retreat;
in which the Flower of the Army was lost. So that
how ill soever *Spain* and *France* were inclined to each
other, they were both bitter Enemies to *England*;
whilst *England* itself was so totally taken up with the
thought of Revenge upon the Person who they
thought had been the Cause of their Distress, that
they never considered, that the sad effects of it (if
not instantly provided against) must inevitably
Destroy the Kingdom: and gave no truce to their
Rage, till the Duke finished his course, by a wicked
Assassination in the fourth year of the King, and the
thirty-sixth of his Age.

John *Felton*, and obscure man in his own person, The Assassina-
who had been bred a Soldier, and lately a Lieute- tion of the
nant of a Foot-company, whose Captain had been Duke of
killed upon the Retreat at the Isle of *Re*, upon Buckingham.
which he conceived that the Company of right
ought to have been conferred upon Him, and it
being refused to him by the Duke of *Buckingham*,
General of the Army, had given up his Commis-
sion of Lieutenant, and withdrawn himself from the
Army. He was of a melancholic nature, and had
little conversation with any body, yet of a Gentle-
man's family in *Sussex*, of good fortune and reputa-

B O O K I. tion. From the time that he had quitted the Army; he resided in *London*; when the House of Commons, transported with Passion and Prejudice against the Duke of *Buckingham*, had accused him to the House of Peers for several Misdemeanours, and Miscarriages, and in some Declaration had styled him "the cause of all the Evils the Kingdom suffered, " and an Enemy to the Public. "

Some Transcripts of such Expressions (for the late Licence of Printing all mutinous and seditious Discourses was not yet in fashion) and some general Invectives he met with amongst the People, to whom that great Man was not grateful, wrought so far upon this melancholic Gentleman, that by degrees, and (as he said upon some of his Examinations) by frequently hearing some popular Preachers in the City (who yet were not arrived at the Presumption, and Impudence, they have been Since transported with) he believed he should do God good service, if he Killed the Duke; which he shortly after resolved to do. He chose no other Instrument to do it with, than an ordinary Knife, which he bought of a common Cutler for a Shilling: and thus provided he repaired to *Portsmouth*, where he arrived the Eve of *St. Bartholomew*. The Duke was then there, in order to Prepare and make Ready the Fleet, and the Army, with which he resolved in few days to transport himself to the Relief of *Rochelle*, which was then straitly besieged by the Cardinal *Richelieu*; and for the Relief whereof the Duke was the more obliged, by reason that, at his being at the Isle of *Re*, he had received great Sup-

plies of Victuals, and some Companies of their Garrison from that Town, the want of both which they were at this time very sensible of, and grieved at.

This morning of *St. Bartholomew* the Duke had received Letters, in which he was advertised that *Rochelle* had Relieved itself; upon which he directed that his Breakfast might speedily be made ready, and he would make haste to acquaint the King with the good news, the Court being then at *Southwick*, the House of Sir *Daniel Norton*, five miles from *Portsmouth*. The chamber wherein he was dressing himself, was full of company, of Persons of Quality, and Officers of the Fleet and Army.

There was Monsieur *de Soubize* Brother to the Duke of *Rohan*, and other *French* Gentlemen, who were very solicitous for the Embarcation of the Army, and for the Departure of the Fleet for the Relief of *Rochelle*: and they were at that time in much trouble and perplexity, out of apprehension that the news the Duke had received that morning might slacken the preparations for the Voyage, which their Impatience, and Interest persuaded them were not advanced with expedition; and so they had held much discourse with the Duke of the impossibility that his Intelligence could be true, and that it was contrived by the artifice and dexterity of their Enemies, in order to abate the warmth and zeal that was used for their Relief, the arrival of which Relief those Enemies had so much reason to apprehend; and a longer Delay in sending it would ease them of that terrible apprehension, their Forts and Works toward the Sea, and in the Harbour, being almost finished.

BOOK This discourse, according to the natural custom
 I. of that Nation, and by the usual Dialect of that Language, was held with that Passion, and Vehemence, that the standers by, who understood not *French*, did believe that they were angry, and that they used the Duke rudely. He being ready, and informed that his Breakfast was ready, drew towards the door, where the hangings were held up; and, in that very Passage, turning himself to speak with Sir *Thomas Frier*, a Colonel of the Army, who was then speaking near his ear, he was on the sudden Struck over his shoulder upon the Breast with a Knife; upon which, without using any other words, but, *The Villain hath Killed me*; and in the same moment pulling out the Knife himself, he fell down dead, the Knife having pierced his Heart.

No man had seen the Blow, or the Man who gave it, but in the confusion they were in, every man made his own conjecture, and declared it as a thing known; most agreeing that it was done by the *French*, from the angry discourse they thought they had heard from them. And it was a kind of a Miracle, that they were not all Killed in that instant; the Sober sort, that preserved them from it, having the same opinion of their Guilt, and only reserving them for a more Judicial Examination and Proceeding.

In the Crowd, near the door, there was found upon the ground a Hat, in the inside whereof there was sowed upon the crown a Paper, in which were writ four or five lines of that Declaration made by the House of Commons, in which they had styled the Duke an Enemy to the Kingdom; and under it

a short Ejaculation or two towards a Prayer. It was easily enough concluded that the Hat belonged to the Person who had committed the Murder: but the difficulty remained still as great, Who that person should be; for the writing discovered nothing of the Name, and wholoever it was, it was very natural to believe, that he was gone far enough, not to be found without a Hat.

In this Hurry, one running one way, another another way, a Man was seen walking before the door very composedly Without a Hat; whereupon one crying out, *Here is the Fellow that Killed the Duke*; upon which others run thither, every body asking, *Which is He? Which is He?* to which the Man without the Hat very composedly answered, *I am He.* Thereupon some of those who were most Furious, suddenly run upon the man with their drawn swords to Kill him; but others, who were at least equally concerned in the Loss, and in the Sense of it. defended him; Himself with open arms very calmly and cheerfully exposing himself to the Fury and Swords of the most enraged, as being very willing to fall a Sacrifice to their sudden Anger, rather than to be kept for that deliberate Justice, which he knew must be executed upon him.

He was now known enough, and easily discovered to be that *Felton*, whom we mentioned before, who had been a Lieutenant in the Army: He was quickly carried into a private room by the persons of the best condition, some whereof were in Authority, who first thought fit so far to dissemble, as to mention the Duke only grievously Wounded, but

B O O K not without hope of Recovery. Upon which *Felton*
I. smiled, and said, he knew well enough he had given him a Blow that had Determined all their Hopes. Being then asked (which was the discovery principally aimed at) by whose Instigation he had performed that horrid and wicked act; he answered them with a wonderful assurance, " That they should
" not trouble themselves in that Inquiry; that no
" man living had credit or power enough with him
" to have engaged, or disposed him to such an
" action; that he had never intrusted his purpose and
" resolution to any man; that it proceeded only from
" Himself, and the impulse of his own Conscience;
" and that the Motives thereunto would appear, if
" his Hat were found, in which he had therefore
" fixed them, because he believed it very probable
" that he might perish in the Attempt. He confessed
" that he had come to the Town but the night
" before, and had kept his lodging, that he might
" not be seen, or taken notice of: and that he had
" come that morning to the Duke's lodging, where
" he had waited at the door for his coming out; and
" when he found, by the motions within, that he
" was coming, he drew to the door, as if he held
" up the hanging; and Sir *Thomas Frier* speaking
" with the Duke, as hath been said, and being of a
" much lower stature than the Duke, who a little
" inclined towards him, he took the opportunity
" of giving the Blow over His shoulders."

He spoke very frankly of what he had done, and bore the reproaches of those who spoke to him, with the temper of a man who thought he had not done

amiss. But after he had been in Prison some time, where he was treated without any rigor, and with humanity enough; and before, and at his Trial, which was about four months after, at the King's bench Bar, he behaved himself with great modesty and wonderful repentance; being, as he said, convinced in his conscience, that he had done Wickedly, and asked the pardon of the King, and Ducheſs, and of all the Duke's Servants, whom he acknowledged to have offended; and very earnestly besought the Judges that he might have his hand struck off, with which he had performed that impious act, before he should be put to death.

The Court was too near *Portsmouth*, and too many Courtiers upon the place, to have this Murder (so barbarous in the nature and circumstances, the like whereof had not been known in *England* many ages) long concealed from the King. His Majesty was at the public Prayers of the Church, when Sir *John Hippeſly* came into the room, with a troubled countenance, and without any pause, in respect of the Exercise they were performing, went directly to the King, and whispered in his ear what had fallen out. His Majesty continued unmoved, and without the least change in his countenance, till Prayers were ended; when he suddenly departed to his chamber, and threw himself upon his bed, lamenting with much passion, and with abundance of tears, the Loss he had of an excellent Servant, and the horrid manner in which he had been deprived of him: and he continued in this melancholic disposition of mind many days.

B O O K
I.
The King's
receiving the
news of the
Duke's death.

B O O K Yet his manner of receiving the news in Public ,
I. when it was first brought him in the presence of so many (who knew or saw nothing of the passion he expressed upon his retreat) made many men believe , that the accident was not very ungrateful ; at least , that it was very indifferent to him ; as being rid of a Servant very ungracious to the People , and the prejudice to whose Person exceedingly obstructed all overtures made in Parliament for his service.

And, upon this observation , Persons of all conditions took great licence in speaking of the person of the Duke , and dissecting all his infirmities , believing they should not thereby incur any displeasure of the King's. In which they took very ill measures ; for from that time almost to the time of his own death , the King admitted very few into any degree of trust , who had ever discovered themselves to be Enemies to the Duke , or against whom he had manifested a notable prejudice. And sure never any Prince expressed a more lively regret for the Loss of a Servant , than his Majesty did for this great Man , in his constant favor and kindness to his Wife and Children ; in all offices of grace towards his Servants ; and in a wonderful solicitous care for the Payment of his Debts ; which , it is very true , were Contracted for his Majesty's service ; though in such a manner , that there remained no evidence of it , nor were any of the Duke's Officers intrusted with the knowledge of it , nor any record kept of it , but in the King's own generous memory.

A Character
 of the Duke.

This great man was a Person of a Noble nature , and Generous disposition , and of such other Endow-

ments, as made him very capable of being a great Favorite to a great King. He understood the Arts of a Court; and all the Learning that is professed There, exactly well. By long practise in business, under a Master that discoursed excellently, and surely knew all things wonderfully, and took much delight in Indoctrinating his young unexperienced Favorite, who, he knew, would be always looked upon as the Workmanship of his Own hands, He had obtained a quick conception, and apprehension of Business, and had the habit of Speaking very gracefully, and pertinently. He was of a most flowing Courtesy and Affability to all men who made any address to him; and so desirous to Oblige them, that he did not enough consider the Value of the obligation, or the Merit of the person he chose to oblige; from which, much of his Misfortune resulted. He was of a Courage not to be daunted, which was manifested in all his Actions, and in his Contests with particular persons of the greatest reputation; and especially in his whole demeanour at the Isle of *Re*, both at the Landing, and upon the Retreat; in both which no man was more fearless, or more ready to expose himself to the highest dangers. His Kindness, and Affection to his Friends was so vehement, that they were as so many marriages for better and worse, and so many leagues offensive and defensive; as if he thought himself obliged to love all his Friends, and to make war upon all They were angry with, let the cause be what it would. And it cannot be denied, that he was an Enemy in the same excess, and prosecuted those he looked upon as his

B O O K
I.

B O O K I. Enemies, with the utmost rigor and animosity; and was not easily induced to reconciliation. And yet there were some examples of his receding in that particular. And when he was in the highest passion, he was so far from stooping to any Dissimulation, whereby his displeasure might be concealed and covered, till he had attained his revenge (the low method of Courts) that he never endeavoured to do any man an ill office, before he first told him what he was to expect from him, and reproached him with the injuries he had done, with so much generosity, that the person found it in his power to receive further satisfaction, in the way he would chuse for himself.

In this manner he proceeded with the Earl of *Oxford*, a man of great Name in that time, and whom he had endeavoured by many civil offices to make his Friend, and who seemed equally to incline to the Friendship: when he discovered (or, as many thought, but suspected) that the Earl was entered into some Cabal in Parliament against him; he could not be dissuaded by any of his Friends, to whom he imparted his resolution, but meeting the Earl the next day, he took him aside, and after many reproaches for such and such ill offices he had done him, and for Breaking his Word towards him, he told him, “ he would rely no longer on His Friendship, nor should He expect any further Friendship from him, but on the contrary, he would be for ever his Enemy, and do him all the mischief he could. The Earl, (who, as many thought, had not been Faulty towards him, was as Great-hearted

as He, and thought the very Suspecting him to be an injury Unpardonable) without any reply to the particulars, declared “ that he neither cared for his “ Friendship, nor feared his Hatred;” and from thence avowedly entered into the conversation, and confidence of Those who were always awake to Discover, and solicitous to Pursue any thing that might prove to his Disadvantage; which was of Evil consequence to the Duke; the Earl being of the most Ancient of the Nobility, and a man of great Courage, and of a Family which had in no time swerved from its Fidelity to the Crown.

Sir Francis *Cottington*, who was Secretary to the Prince, and not grown Courtier enough to dissemble his opinion, had given the Duke Offence, before his journey into *Spain*, as is before touched upon, and Improved that prejudice after his coming thither, by disposing the Prince all he could to the Marriage of the Infanta; and by his behaviour after his return, in justifying to King *James*, who had a very good opinion of him, the Sincerity of the *Spaniard* in the Treaty of the Marriage, “ That they did in truth desire it, and were fully resolved to gratify his Majesty “ in the Business of the *Palatinate*, and only desired, “ in the Manner of it, to gratify the Emperor, and “ the Duke of *Bavaria*, all they could; which would “ take up very little time.” All which being so Contrary to the Duke’s purposes and resolutions, his Displeasure to *Cottington* was sufficiently manifest. And King *James* was no sooner dead, and the new Officers, and Orders made, but the Profits, and Privileges, which had used to be continued to him who

BOOK I. had been Secretary, till some other Promotion, were all retrenched. And when he was one morning Attending in the Privy lodgings, as he was accustomed to do, one of the Secretaries of State came to him, and told him, "that it was the King's Pleasure, he should no more presume to come into those Rooms" (which was the first instance he had received of the King's Disfavor) and at the same instant the Duke entered into that Quarter: Sir *Francis Cottington* addressed himself towards him, and desired "he would give him leave to speak to him;" upon which the Duke inclining his ear, moved to a window from the Company; and the other told him, "that he received every day fresh Marks of his Severity;" mentioned the Message, which had been then delivered to him, and desired only to know, "Whether it could not be in his power, by all dutiful Application, and all possible Service, to be restored to the good Opinion his Grace had once vouchsafed to have of him, and to be admitted to Serve him?" The Duke heard him without the least Commotion, and with a countenance serene enough, and then answered him, "That he would deal very clearly with him; that it was utterly impossible to bring that to pass which he had Proposed: That he was not only firmly resolved Never to trust him, or to have to do with him, but that he was, and would be always his declared Enemy: and that he would do always whatsoever should be in his power to Ruin and Destroy him, and of this he might be most assured:" without mentioning any particular ground for his so heightened Displeasure.

The Other very Calmly replied to him (as he was Master of an incomparable Temper) "That since he was resolved Never to do him Good, he hoped from his Justice, and Generosity, that he would not suffer himself to Gain by his Loss; That he had laid out, by his command, so much money for Jewels, and Pictures, which he had received: and that, in hope of his future Favor, he had once presented a Suit of Hangings to him, which cost him good, which he hoped he would cause to be restored to him, and that he would not let him be so great a Loser by him." The Duke answered, "he was in the right; that he should the next morning go to *Oliver* (who was his Receiver) and give him a particular account of all the Money due to him, and he should presently pay him;" which was done the next morning accordingly, without the least abatement of any of his demands.

And he was so far Reconciled to him before his death, that being resolved to make Peace with *Spain*, to the end he might more vigorously pursue the War with *France* (to which his heart was most passionately fixed) he sent for *Cottington* to come to him, and after conference with him, told him, "the King would send him Ambassador thither, and that he should attend him at *Portsmouth* for his Despatch.

His single Misfortune was (which indeed was productive of many greater) that he never made a noble and a worthy Friendship with a Man so near his equal, that he would frankly advise him for his Honor, and true Interest, against the current, or

B O O K rather the torrent of his Impetuous Passions; which
I. was partly the Vice of the Time, when the Court was not replenished with great choice of Excellent Men; and partly the Vice of the Persons, who were most worthy to be applied to, and looked upon his Youth, and his Obscurity before his Rise, as Obligations upon him to gain their Friendships by extraordinary Application. Then his Ascent was so quick, that it seemed rather a Flight than a Growth, and he was such a Darling of Fortune, that he was at the Top, before he was well seen at the Bottom; and as if he had been Born a Favorite, he was Supreme the first Month he came to Court; and it was want of Confidence, not of Credit, that he had not all at first, which he obtained afterwards; never meeting with the least Obstruction from his Setting out, till he was as Great as he could be: So that he wanted Dependants before he thought he could want Coadjutors. Nor was he very Fortunate in the election of those Dependants, very few of his Servants having been ever qualified enough to Assist or Advise him; and they were intent only upon growing Rich under him, not upon their Master's growing Good, as well as Great: Insomuch as he was throughout his Fortune a much Wiser Man, than any Servant or Friend he had.

Let the Fault or Misfortune be what, or whence it will, it may reasonably be believed that if he had been blessed with One Faithful Friend, who had been qualified with Wisdom and Integrity, that great Person would have committed as few Faults, and done as transcendent worthy Actions, as any Man

who shined in such a Sphere in that Age in *Europe*. B O O K
For he was of an excellent Disposition, and of a I.
Mind very capable of Advice and Counsel: He was
in his Nature just and candid, liberal, generous, and
bountiful; nor was it ever known, that the tempta-
tion of Money swayed him to do an unjust, or
unkind thing. And though he left a very great
Estate to his Heirs; considering the vast Fortune he
inherited by his Wife, the sole Daughter, and Heir
of *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*, he owed no part of it to
his Own Industry, or Solicitation; but to the Im-
patient Humor of two Kings his Masters, who would
make his Fortune equal to his Titles, and the one
as much above other Men, as the other was. And
he considered it no otherwise than as Theirs, and
left it at his death engaged for the Crown, almost to
the value of it, as is touched upon before.

If he had an immoderate Ambition, with which
he was charged, and is a Weed (if it be a Weed)
apt to grow in the best Soils: it doth not appear that
it was in his Nature, or that he brought it with
him to the Court, but rather found it there, and
was a Garment necessary for that Air. Nor was it
more in his power to be without Promotion, and
Titles, and Wealth, than for a healthy Man to sit
in the Sun, in the brightest Dog-days, and remain
without any warmth. He needed no Ambition, who
was so seated in the hearts of two Such Masters.

There are two particulars, which lie heaviest upon
his Memory, either of them aggravated by Circum-
stances very important, and which administer fre-
quent occasions by their Effects to be remembered.

BOOK

I.

The First, his Engaging his old unwilling Master and the Kingdom in the War with *Spain* (not to mention the bold Journey thither, or the Breach of that Match) in a time when the Crown was so poor, and the People more inclined to a bold inquiry, How it came to be so, than dutiful to provide for its Supply: and this only upon Personal Animosities between Him, and the Duke of *Olivarez*, the sole Favorite in that Court, and those Animosities from very Trivial provocations, which flowed indeed from no other Fountain, than that the Nature and Education of *Spain* restrained Men from that Gaiety, and Frolic humor, to which the Prince's Court was more inclined. And *Olivarez* had been heard to Censure very severely the Duke's Familiarity, and Want of Respect towards the Prince (a Crime monstrous to the *Spaniard*) and had said, that "if the Infanta did not, as soon as she was married, Suppress that Licence, she would her Self quickly undergo the Mischief of it:" Which gave the first alarm to the Duke to apprehend his own Ruin in that Union, and accordingly to use all his endeavours to Break and Prevent it: and from that time he took all occasions to Quarrel with, and Reproach the Conde Duke.

One morning the King desired the Prince to take the Air, and to visit a little House of Pleasure he had (the *Prado*) four miles from *Madrid*, standing in a Forest, where he used sometimes to Hunt; and the Duke not being ready, the King and the Prince and the Infante Don *Carlos* went into the Coach, the King likewise calling the Earl of *Bristol* into that

Coach to assist them in their Conversation, the Prince then not Speaking any *Spanish*; and left *Olivarez* to follow in the Coach with the Duke of *Buckingham*. When the Duke came, they went into the Coach, accompanied with Others of both Nations, and proceeded very cheerfully towards the overtaking the King; but when upon the way he heard, that the Earl of *Bristol* was in the Coach with the King, he broke out into a great Passion, reviled the Conde Duke as the Contriver of the Affront, reproached the Earl of *Bristol* for his Presumption, in taking the Place which in all respects belonged to Him, who was joined with him as Ambassador extraordinary, and came last from the Presence of his Master, and resolved to go out of the Coach and to return to *Madrid*. *Olivarez* easily discovered by the disorder, and the noise, and the tone, that the Duke was very Angry, without comprehending the Cause of it; Only found that the Earl of *Bristol* was often named with Such a tone, that he begun to suspect what in truth might be the cause. And thereupon he commanded a Gentleman, who was on Horseback, with all speed to overtake the King's Coach, and desire that it might stay; intimating that the Duke had taken some Displeasure, the ground whereof was not enough understood. Upon which the King's Coach stayed, and when the other approached within distance, the Conde Duke alighted, and acquainted the King with what he had observed, and what he conceived. The King himself alighted; made great Compliments to the Duke, the Earl of *Bristol* Excusing himself upon the King's Command,

BOOK that he should serve as Interpreter. In the end Don

- I. *Carlos* went into the Coach with the Favorite, and the Duke and the Earl of *Bristol* went with the King, and the Prince; and so they prosecuted their journey, and after Dinner returned in the same manner to *Madrid*.

This with all the Circumstances of it administered wonderful occasion of Discourse in the Court and Country, there never having been such a Comet seen in that Hemisphere; their submits Reverence to their Princes being a vital part of their Religion.

There were very few days passed afterwards, in which there was not some manifestation of the highest Displeasure, and Hatred in the Duke against the Earl of *Bristol*. And when the Conde Duke had some eclaircissement with the Duke, in which he made all the Protestations of his sincere Affection, and his desire to maintain a clear and faithful Friendship with him, which he conceived might be, in some degree, useful to both their Masters; the Other received his Protestations with all Contempt, and declared, with a very unnecessary frankness, "that he would have no Friendship with him."

The next day after the King returned from accompanying the Prince towards the Sea, where, at parting, there were all possible demonstrations of mutual Affection between them; the King caused a fair Pillar to be erected in the Place where they Last embraced each other, with Inscriptions of great Honor to the Prince; there being then in that Court not the least Suspicion, or Imagination, that the Marriage would not Succeed. Infomuch that after-

wards, upon the news from *Rome* that the Dispensation was granted, the Prince having left the Desponforios in the hands of the Earl of *Bristol*, in which the Infante *Don Carlos* was constituted the Prince's Proxy to Marry the Infanta on his behalf; She was treated as Princess of *Walis*, the Queen gave her place, and the *English* Ambassador had frequent Audiences, as with his Mistress, in which he would Not be covered: Yet, I say, the very next day after the Prince's departure from the King, Mr. *Clark*, one of the Prince's Bed-chamber, who had formerly served the Duke, was sent back to *Madrid*, upon Pretence that somewhat was forgotten there, but in Truth, with orders to the Earl of *Bristol* not to deliver the Desponforios (which, by the Articles, he was obliged to do, within fifteen days after the arrival of the Dispensation) until he should receive further orders from the Prince, or King, after his Return into *England*.

Mr. *Clark* was not to deliver this Letter to the Ambassador, till he was sure the Dispensation was come; of which he could not be advertised in the instant. But he lodging in the Ambassador's house, and falling sick of a Calenture, which the Physicians thought would prove mortal, he sent for the Earl to come to his Bed-side, and delivered him the Letter before the arrival of the Dispensation, though long after it was known to be granted; upon which all those Ceremonies were performed to the Infanta.

By these Means, and by this Method, this great Affair, upon which the Eyes of *Christendom* had

B O O K
I.

B O O K been so long fixed, came to be Dissolved, without
I. the least mixture with, or contribution from those
 Amours, which were afterwards so confidently dis-
 coursed of. For though the Duke was naturally
 carried violently to those Passions, when there was
 any grace or beauty in the Object, yet the Dut-
 chess of *Olivarez*, of whom was the talk, was then
 a Woman so old, past Children, of so abject a
 presence, in a word, so crooked and deformed,
 that she could neither tempt his Appetite, nor mag-
 nify his Revenge. And whatsoever he did after-
 wards in *England* was but *tueri opus*, and to prose-
 cute the Design he had, upon the Reason and Pro-
 vocation aforesaid, so long before contrived during
 his abode in *Spain*.

The Other particular, by which he involved
 himself in so many Fatal Intricacies, from which he
 could Never extricate himself, was, his running
 violently into the War with *France*, without any kind
 of Provocation, and upon a Particular Passion very
 unwarrantable. In his Embassy in *France*, where
 his Person and Presence was wonderfully admired,
 and esteemed (and in truth it was a Wonder in the
 eyes of all men) and in which he appeared with all
 the Lustre the Wealth of *England* could adorn him
 with, and Outshined all the bravery that Court could
 dress itself in, and Overacted the whole Nation in
 their own most peculiar Vanities: He had the Am-
 bition to fix his Eyes upon, and to dedicate his
 most violent Affection to a Lady of a very sublime
 Quality, and to pursue it with most importunate
 Addresses; Insomuch as when the King had brought
 the

the Queen his Sister as far as he meant to do, and delivered her into the hands of the Duke, to be by him conducted into *England*; the Duke, in his journey, after the departure from that Court, took a resolution once more to make a Visit to that great Lady, which he believed he might do with much privacy. But it was so easily discovered, that Provision was made for his Reception; and if he had pursued his Attempt, he had been without doubt Assassinated; of which he had only so much notice, as served him to decline the Danger. But he Swore, in the instant, "that he would See, and Speak with" that Lady, in Spight of the Strength and Power "of *France*." And from the time that the Queen arrived in *England*, he took all the ways he could to Undervalue and Exasperate that Court and Nation, by causing all those who fled into *England* from the justice and displeasure of that King, to be received and entertained here, not only with ceremony and security, but with bounty and magnificence; and the more extraordinary the Persons were, and the more notorious their King's displeasure was towards them (as in that time there were very many Lords and Ladies in those circumstances) the more respectfully they were received, and esteemed. He omitted no opportunity to Incense the King against *France*, and to dispose him to assist the Hugonots, whom he likewise encouraged to give their King some trouble.

And which was Worse than all this, he took great pains to Lessen the King's Affection towards his Young Queen, being exceedingly jealous, lest

B O O K I. Her Interest might be of force enough to Cross his other Designs : And in this Stratagem, he so far swerved from the Instinct of his Nature, and his proper Inclinations, that He who was compounded of all the elements of Affability, and Courtesy towards all kind of People, had brought himself to a habit of Neglect, and even of Rudeness towards the Queen.

One day, when he unjustly apprehended that She had showed some disrespect to his Mother, in not going to her Lodging at an hour she had intended to go, and was hindered by a mere accident; he came into her Chamber in much Passion, and, after some Expostulations rude enough, he told her, *She should Repent it*; her Majesty answering with some quickness, he replied Insolently to her, *that there had been Queens in England, who had lost their Heads*. And it was universally known, that, during His life, the Queen never had any Credit with the King, with reference to any Public Affairs, and so could not Divert the Resolution of making a War with *France*.

The War with *Spain* had found the Nation in a Surfeit of a long Peace, and in a disposition Inclined enough to War with that nation, which might put an end to an Alliance the most ungrateful to them, and which they most feared, and from whence no other Damage had yet befallen them, than a Chargeable and Unsuccessful Voyage by Sea, without the loss of Ships or Men. But a War with *France* must be carried on at another rate, and pense. Besides, the Nation was weary and surfeited

with the First, before the Second was entered upon; and it was very visible to Wise men, that when the general Trade of the Kingdom, from whence the Support of the Crown principally resulted, should be utterly extinguished with *France*, as it was with *Spain*, and interrupted or obstructed with all other Places (as it must be, in a great measure, in a War, how Prosperously soever carried on) the Effects would be very Sad, and Involve the King in many Perplexities; and it could not but fall out accordingly.

Upon the return from *Cadiz* without success, though all the Ships, and, upon the matter, all the Men were seen (for though some had so surfeited in the Vineyards, and with the Wines, that they had been left behind, the Generosity of the *Spaniards* sent them all home again) and though by that Fleet's putting in at *Plymouth*, near two hundred miles from *London*, there could be but very Imperfect relations, and the news of Yesterday was contradicted by the Morrow; besides that the Expedition had been undertaken by the Advice of the Parliament, and with an universal Approbation of the People, so that nobody could reasonably speak loudly against it; Yet, notwithstanding all this, the ill Success was heavily born, and imputed to ill Conduct; the principal Officers of the Fleet and Army divided amongst themselves, and All united in their murmurs against the General, the Lord Viscount *Wimbleton*; who, though an old Officer in *Holland*, was never thought equal to the Enterprize. In a word, there was Indisposition enough quickly discovered against the War

B O O K I. itself, that it was easily discerned, it would not be pursued with the vigor it was entered into, nor carried on by any cheerful contribution of money from the Public.

But the running into this War with *France* (from whence the Queen was so newly, and joyfully received) without any color of Reason, or so much as the formality of a Declaration from the King, containing the ground, and provocation, and end of it, according to custom and obligation in the like cases (for it was observed that the Manifesto which was published was in the Duke's own Name, who went Admiral and General of the Expedition) opened the mouths of all men, to Inveigh against it with all Bitterness, and the sudden ill Effects of it, manifested in the Return of the Fleet to *Portsmouth*, within Such a distance of *London*, that nothing could be Concealed of the Loss sustained; in which, Most noble Families found a Son, or a Brother, or near Kinsman wanting, without such Circumstances of their deaths, as are usually the Consolations, and Recompences of such Catastrophes. The Retreat had been a Rout without an Enemy, and the *French* had Their revenge by the Disorder, and Confusion of the *English* themselves; in which, great numbers of Noble and Ignoble were crowded to death, or drowned without the help of an Enemy: and as some thousands of the Common men were wanting, so few of those Principal Officers, who attained to a Name in War, and by whose Courage and Experience any war was to be conducted, could be found.

The effects of this overthrow did not at first appear

in whispers, murmurs, and invectives, as the Retreat from *Cadiz* had done; but produced such a general Consternation over the face of the whole Nation, as if all the Armies of *France* and *Spain* were united together, and had covered the Land. Mutinies in the Fleet and Army, under pretence of their want of Pay (whereof no doubt there was much due to them) but in truth, out of detestation of the Service, and the Authority of the Duke. The Counties throughout the Kingdom were so incensed, and their affections poisoned, that they refused to suffer the Soldiers to be billeted upon them; by which, they often underwent greater inconveniencies and mischiefs, than they endeavoured to prevent. The endeavour to raise new men for the recruit of the Army by Pressing (the usual method, that had commonly been practised upon such occasions) found opposition in many places; and the Authority by which it was done not submitted to, as being counted illegal. This produced a resort to Martial Law, by which many were executed; which raised an asperity in the minds of more than of the common people. And this distemper was so universal, that the least spark still meeting with combustible matter enough to make a flame, all wise men looked upon it as the Prediction of the Destruction, and Dissolution, that would follow. Nor was there a Serenity in the Countenance of any man, who had age and experience enough to consider things to come; but only in those who wished the destruction of the Duke, and thought it could not be purchased

BOOK
I.

B O O K at too dear a price, and looked upon this flux of
I. humors as an inevitable way to bring it to pass.

And it cannot be denied, that from these two Wars so wretchedly entered into, and the circumstances before mentioned, and which flowed from thence, the Duke's ruin took its date; and never left pursuing him, till that execrable act upon his person: the malice whereof was contracted by that sole evil Spirit of the time, without any partner in the Conspiracy. And the Venom of That season increased and got vigor; until, from one Licence to another, it proceeded till the Nation was corrupted to that monstrous degree, that it grew Satiated, and weary of the Government itself; under which it had enjoyed a greater measure of Felicity, than any Nation was ever possessed of; and which could never be continued to them, but under the same Government. And as these calamities Originally sprung from the Inordinate appetite and passion of this young man, under the too much Easiness of two indulgent Masters, and the concurrence of a thousand other accidents; so, if he had lived longer, the observation and experience he had gained, which had very much improved his Understanding, with the Greatness of his spirit, and Jealousy of his Master's honor (to whom his Fidelity was Superior to any temptation) might have repaired many of the Inconveniencies, which he had introduced, and would have prevented the Mischiefs which were the natural effects of those causes.

An account
 of a Prediction
 of the Duke's
 death.

There were many Stories scattered abroad at that time, of several Prophecies, and Predictions of the

Duke's untimely and violent death. Amongst the rest there was one, which was upon a better foundation of credit, than usually such discourses are founded upon. There was an Officer in the King's Wardrobe in *Windfor* Castle, of a good reputation for honesty and discretion, and then about the Age of fifty years or more: this Man had, in his youth, been bred in a School, in the Parish where Sir *George Villiers* the father of the Duke lived; and had been much cherished and obliged, in that season of his Age, by the said Sir *George*, whom afterwards he never saw. About six months before the miserable end of the Duke of *Buckingham*, about midnight, this Man, being in his bed, at *Windfor* where his Office was, and in a very good health, there appeared to him on the side of his bed, a Man of a very venerable aspect, who drew the curtains of his bed, and, fixing his Eyes upon him, asked him, If he knew him. The poor Man, half dead with fear, and apprehension, being asked the second time, Whether he remembered him? and having in that time called to his memory the presence of Sir *George Villiers*, and the very Clothes he used to wear, in which at that time he seemed to be habited, he answered him, That he thought him to be that person. He replied, "he was in the right; that he was the
" same, and that he expected a service from him;
" which was, that he should go from Him to his son
" the Duke of *Buckingham*, and tell him, if he did
" not somewhat to ingratiate himself to the People,
" or, at least, to abate the extreme Malice they had
" against him, he would be suffered to live but a

BOOK 1. "short time." After this discourse he disappeared; and the poor Man, if he had been at all waking, slept very well till morning, when he believed all this to be a dream, and considered it no otherwise.

The next night, or shortly after, the same Person appeared to him again in the same place, and about the same time of the night, with an aspect a little more severe than before; and asked him, Whether he had done as he had required him? and perceiving he had not, gave him very severe reprehensions; told him, "He expected more compliance from him; and that if he did not perform his Commands, he should enjoy no peace of mind, but should be always pursued by him:" upon which, he promised him to obey him. But the next morning waking out of a good sleep, though he was exceedingly perplexed with the lively representation of all particulars to his memory, he was willing still to persuade himself that he had only dreamed: and considered, that he was a person at such a distance from the Duke, that he knew not how to find any admission to his presence; much less had any hope to be believed in what he should say. So with great trouble and inquietness, he spent some time in thinking what he should do; and in the end resolved to do nothing in the matter.

The same Person appeared to him the third time with a terrible Countenance, and bitterly reproaching him for not performing what he had promised to do. The poor Man had by this time recovered the courage to tell him, "That in truth he had deferred the execution of his Commands, upon con-

“sidering, how difficult a thing it would be for him
 “to get any access to the Duke, having acquaint-
 “ance with no person about him; and if he could
 “obtain admission to him, he should never be able
 “to persuade him, that he was sent in Such a man-
 “ner; but he should, at best, be thought to be mad,
 “or to be set on and employed, by his own or the
 “malice of other Men, to abuse the Duke; and so
 “he should be sure to be undone.” The Person
 replied, as he had done before, “That he should
 “never find rest, till he should perform what He
 “required; and therefore he were better to despatch
 “it: that the access to his Son was known to be
 “very easy; and that few Men waited long for him;
 “and for the gaining him credit, he would tell him
 “two or three particulars, which he charged him
 “never to mention to any Person living, but to the
 “Duke himself; and He should no sooner hear them,
 “but he would believe all the rest he should say:
 “and so repeating his threats he left him.”

In the morning, the poor Man, more confirmed
 by the last Appearance, made his journey to *Lon-*
don; where the Court then was. He was very well
 known to Sir *Ralph Freeman*, one of the Masters of
 Requests, who had Married a Lady that was nearly
 allied to the Duke, and was himself well received
 by him. To him this Man went; and though he
 did not acquaint him with all particulars, he said
 enough to him to let him see there was somewhat
 extraordinary in it; and the knowledge he had of
 the sobriety, and discretion of the Man, made the
 more impression in him. He desired, that, “by His

B O O K “ means he might be brought to the Duke; to such
I. “ a place, and in such a manner, as should be thought
“ fit:” affirming, “ That he had much to say to
“ him; and of such a Nature, as would require
“ much privacy, and some time and patience in the
“ hearing.” Sir *Ralph* promised “ He would speak
“ first with the Duke of him, and then he should
“ understand his pleasure:” and accordingly, in the
first opportunity, he did inform him of the Reputa-
tion and Honesty of the Man, and then what he
desired, and of all he knew of the matter. The
Duke, according to his usual openness and conde-
scension, told him, “ That he was the next day early
“ to Hunt with the King; that his Horses should
“ attend him at *Lambeth-Bridge*, where he would
“ Land by five of the Clock in the morning; and if
“ the Man attended him there at that hour, he
“ would walk, and speak with him, as long as should
“ be necessary.” Sir *Ralph* carried the Man with
him the next morning, and presented him to the
Duke at his landing, who received him courteously;
and walked aside in conference near an hour, none
but his own Servants being at that hour in that
place; and they and Sir *Ralph* at such a distance,
that they could not hear a word, though the Duke
sometimes spoke, and with great Commotion; which
Sir *Ralph* the more easily observed, and perceived,
because he kept his Eyes always fixed upon the
Duke; having procured the Conference, upon some-
what he knew there was of Extraordinary. And
the Man told him in his return over the water,
“ That when he mentioned those particulars which

“ were to gain him credit, the Substance whereof B O O K
“ he said he durst not impart to him, the Duke’s I.
“ color changed, and he swore he could come to
“ that knowledge only by the Devil; for that those
“ particulars were known only to himself, and to
“ one Person more, who, he was sure, would
“ never speak of it.”

The Duke pursued his purpose of Hunting; but was observed to ride all the morning with great pensiveness, and in deep thoughts, without any delight in the Exercise he was upon: and before the morning was spent, left the field, and alighted at his Mother’s Lodgings in *White-hall*; with whom he was shut up for the space of two or three hours; the noise of their discourse frequently reaching the Ears of those who attended in the next rooms: and when the Duke left her, his Countenance appeared full of trouble, with a mixture of anger; a Countenance, that was never before observed in him, in any conversation with Her, towards whom he had a profound reverence. And the Countess herself (for though she was Married to a private Gentleman, Sir *Thomas Compton*, she had been created Countess of *Buckingham*, shortly after her Son had first assumed that Title) was, at the Duke’s leaving her, found overwhelmed in tears, and in the highest agony imaginable. Whatever there was of all this, it is a notorious truth, that when the news of the Duke’s Murder (which happened within few months after) was brought to his Mother, she seemed not in the least degree surpris’d; but received it as if she had foreseen it; nor did afterwards express such a degree of sorrow, as was

B O O K expected from such a Mother, for the loss of such
I. a Son.

This Digression much longer than it was intended, may not be thought altogether improper in this Discourse. For as the mention of his Death was very pertinent, in the place, and upon the occasion, it happened to be made; so upon that occasion, it seemed the more reasonable to Digress upon the Nature, and Character, and Fortune of the Duke; as being the best mirror to discern the temper, and Spirit of that Age, and the wonderful concurrence of many fatal accidents, to disfigure the Government of two excellent Kings; under whom their Kingdoms in general prospered exceedingly, and enjoyed a longer Peace, a greater Plenty, and in fuller Security, than had been in any former age.

A prospect of
the Court and
the Ministers
after the
Duke's death.

And because there was so total a change of all Counsels, and in the whole face of the Court upon the death of that mighty Favorite; all thoughts of War being presently laid aside (though there was a faint looking towards the relief of *Rochelle* by the Fleet, that was ready under the command of the Earl of *Lindsey*) and the provisions for Peace and Plenty taken to heart: It will not be unuseful, nor unpleasant, to enlarge the Digression, before a return to the proper Subject of the Discourse, by a prospect of the Constitution of the Court, after that bright Star was shot out of the Horizon: Who were the chief Ministers, that had the principal management of public affairs in Church and State; and how equal their Faculties and Qualifications were for those high Transactions; in which, mention shall be only made

of Those who were then in the highest trust; there being at that time no Ladies who had disposed themselves to intermeddle in business: and hereafter, when That activity begun, and made any progress, it will be again necessary to take a new survey of the Court, upon that alteration.

Sir *Thomas Coventry* was then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and newly made a Baron. He was a son of the Robe; his Father having been a Judge in the Court of the Common Pleas: who took great care to breed him, though his first born. in the study of the Common Law; by which he himself had been promoted to that degree; and in which, in the Society of the Inner Temple, his Son made a notable progress, by an early eminence in Practice, and Learning; insomuch as he was Recorder of *London*, Solicitor General, and King's Attorney, before he was forty years of age. A rare ascent! All which Offices he discharged with great abilities, and singular reputation of Integrity. In the first year after the death of King *James*, he was advanced to be Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* (the usual advancement from the office of Attorney General) upon the removal of the Bishop of *Lincoln*: who, though a man of great wit, and good Scholastic learning, was generally thought so very unequal to the Place, that his Remove was the only recompence and satisfaction, that could be made for his Promotion. And yet it was enough known, that the Disgrace proceeded only from the private displeasure of the Duke of *Buckingham*. The Lord *Coventry* enjoyed this place with an universal reputation (and sure Justice

B O O K
I.

Of the Lord
Keeper Co-
ventry.

B O O K was never better administered) for the space of about
I. sixteen years, even to his death, some months before he was sixty years of age: which was another important circumstance of his Felicity; that great Office being so slippery, that no man had died in it before, for near the space of forty years. Nor had his Successors, for some time after him, much better fortune. And he himself had use of all his strength, and skill (as he was an excellent Wrestler in this kind) to preserve himself from falling, in two Shocks: the one given him by the Earl of *Portland*, Lord high Treasurer of *England*; the other by the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who had the greatest power over the affections of the King of any Man of that time.

He was a Man of wonderful Gravity, and Wisdom; and understood not only the whole Science, and Mystery of the Law, at least equally with any Man who had ever sat in that place; but had a clear conception of the whole Policy of the Government both of Church and State, which, by the unskilfulness of some well meaning Men, jostled each the other too much.

He knew the temper, disposition, and genius of the Kingdom most exactly; saw their Spirits grow every day more sturdy, inquisitive, and impatient: and therefore naturally abhorred all Innovations, which, he foresaw, would produce ruinous effects. Yet many, who stood at a distance, thought he was not active, and stout enough in opposing those Innovations. For though, by his place, he presided in all Public Councils, and was most sharp sighted in the Consequence of things; yet he was seldom

known to Speak in matters of State, which, he well B O O K
knew, were, for the most part, concluded, before I.
they were brought to that Public agitation: never,
in Foreign Affairs; which the vigor of his Judgment
could well have comprehended: nor indeed freely in
any thing, but what immediately, and plainly concerned the Justice of the Kingdom; and in that, as much as he could, he procured References to the Judges. Though, in his Nature, he had not only a firm Gravity, but a Severity, and even some Morosity; yet it was so happily tempered, and his Courtesy, and Affability towards all Men so transcendent, and so much without affectation, that it marvellously recommended him to all Men of all degrees, and he was looked upon as an excellent Courtier, without receding from the native simplicity of his own manners.

He had, in the plain way of speaking and delivery, without much ornament of Elocution, a strange power of making himself believed, the only justifiable design of Eloquence: so that though he used very frankly to Deny, and would never suffer any Man to depart from him with an opinion that he was inclined to Gratify, when in truth he was not; holding that Dissimulation to be the worst of Lying: yet the Manner of it was so gentle, and obliging, and his Condescension such, to Inform the persons whom he could not Satisfy, that few departed from him with ill will, and ill wishes.

But then, this happy Temper, and these good Faculties, rather preserved him from having many Enemies, and supplied him with some Well-wishers,

B O O K than furnished him with any fast and unshaken
I. Friends: who are always procured in Courts, by more ardor, and more vehement Professions, and Applications, than he would suffer himself to be entangled with. So that he was a Man rather exceedingly Liked, than passionately Loved: insomuch that it never appeared, that he had any one Friend in the Court of Quality enough to prevent, or divert any disadvantage he might be exposed to. And therefore it is no wonder, nor to be imputed to Him, that he retired within himself as much as he could; and stood upon his Defence, without making desperate Sallies against growing Mischiefs; which, he knew well, he had no power to hinder, and which might probably begin in his own Ruin. To conclude; his Security consisted very much in his having but little credit with the King; and he Died, in a season most opportune, in which a wise Man would have prayed to have finished his course, and which in truth crowned his other signal prosperity in the World

**OF the Lord
 Treasurer
 Weston,
 Earl of Port-
 land**

Sir *Richard Weston* had been advanced to the White-staff, into the Office of Lord high Treasurer of *England* some months before the death of the Duke of *Buckingham*; and had, in that short time, so much disoblged him, at least disappointed his expectation, that many, who were privy to the Duke's most secret purposes, did believe, that if he had out-lived that Voyage in which he was engaged, he would have removed him, and made another Treasurer. And it is very true, that great Office too had been very slippery, and not fast to those who had trusted themselves

selves in it: Infomuch as there were at that time, five Noble persons alive, who all Succeeded one another immediately in that unsteady Charge, without any other person intervening: the Earl of *Suffolk*; the Lord Viscount *Mandevile*, afterwards Earl of *Manchester*; the Earl of *Middlesex*; and the Earl of *Marlborough*, who was removed under pretence of his Age, and disability for the work (which had been a better reason against his Promotion, so few years before, that his infirmities were very little increased) to make room for the present Officer; who, though Advanced by the Duke, may properly be said to be Established by his Death.

He was a Gentleman of a very ancient Extraction by Father and Mother. His Education had been very good amongst Books and Men. After some years study of the Law in the Middle Temple, he travelled into Foreign parts, and at an Age fit to make Observations, and Reflections; out of which, that, which is commonly called Experience, is constituted. After this he betook himself to the Court, and lived there some years; at that distance, and with that awe, as was agreeable to the Modesty of the Age, when men were Seen some time, before they were Known; and well known before they were Preferred, or durst pretend to it.

He spent the best part of his Fortune (a fair one, that he inherited from his Father) in his attendance at Court; and involved his Friends in Securities with him, who were willing to run his hopeful Fortune, before he received the least Fruit from it, but the Countenance of great Men, and those in Autho-

BOOK I. rity, the most natural, and most certain Stairs to ascend by.

He was then sent Ambassador to the Arch-Dukes, *Albert* and *Ifabella*, into *Flanders*; and to the Diet in *Germany*, to treat about the restitution of the *Palatinate*; in which Negotiation he behaved himself with great Prudence, and with the concurrent testimony of his being a Wise man. from all those Princes and Ambassadors with whom he treated.

Upon his return he was made a Privy Counsellor, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the place of the Lord *Brooke*, who was either persuaded, or put out of the place; which, being an Office of Honor and Trust, is likewise an excellent Stage for Men of parts to tread, and expose themselves upon; where they have occasions of all kinds to lay out, and spread all their Faculties and Qualifications, most for their advantage. He behaved himself very well in this Function, and appeared Equal to it; and carried himself so luckily in Parliament, that he did his Master much Service, and preserved himself in the good opinion, and acceptance of the House; which is a blessing not indulged to many by those High Powers. He did swim in those troubled and boisterous waters, in which the Duke of *Buckingham* rode as Admiral, with a good Grace; when very many who were about him, were drowned, or forced on shore with shrewd hurts, and bruises: which showed, he knew well How and When to use his Limbs, and strength to the best advantage; sometimes only to avoid sinking; and sometimes to advance and get ground: and by this dexterity, he

kept his credit with those who could do him good, and lost it not with others, who desired the destruction of those upon whom he most depended. BOOK
I.

He was made Lord Treasurer in the manner, and at the time mentioned before, upon the removal of the Earl of *Marlborough*, and few months before the death of the Duke. The former circumstance, which is often attended by Compassion towards the Degraded, and Prejudice towards the Promoted, brought him no disadvantage: For besides the delight that Season had in Changes, there was little reverence towards the Person removed; and the extreme visible Poverty of the Exchequer, sheltered that Province from the Envy it had frequently created; and opened a door for much Applause to be the portion of a Wise, and Provident Minister. For the other, of the Duke's death, though some, who knew the Duke's passions, and prejudice (which often produced rather sudden indisposition, than obstinate resolution) believed he would have been shortly Cashiered, as so many had lately been; and so that the death of his Founder was a greater Confirmation of him in the Office, than the delivery of the White-staff to him had been: yet many other wise Men, who knew the Treasurer's talent in removing prejudice, and reconciling himself to wavering and doubtful affections, believed, that the Loss of the Duke was very Unseasonable; and that the awe, or apprehension of His power, and displeasure, was a very necessary alloy for the Impetuosity of the new Officer's nature, which needed some restraints;

B O O K and check, for some time, to his immoderate Pretences, and appetite of Power.

I. He did indeed appear on the sudden wonderfully Elated, and so far threw off his old affectation to please Some very much, and to displease None, in which Art he had excelled, that in few months after the Duke's death, he found himself to succeed him in the Public displeasure, and in the malice of his Enemies, without succeeding him in his credit at Court, or in the affection of any considerable Dependants. And yet, though he was not superior to all other Men in the affection, or rather resignation of the King, so that he might dispense Favors and Disfavors according to his own election, he had a full share in his Master's esteem, who looked upon him as a wise, and able Servant, and worthy of the trust he reposed in him; and received no other advice in the large business of his Revenue: nor was any Man so much his superior, as to be able to lessen him in the king's affection by his power. So that he was in a Post, in which he might have found much ease, and delight, if he could have contained himself within the verge of his own Province, which was large enough, and of such Extent, that he might, at the same time, have drawn a great dependance upon him of very considerable Men, and have appeared a very useful, and profitable Minister to the King; whose Revenue had been very loosely managed during the late years, and might, by industry, and order, have been easily improved: and no Man better understood what method was necessary towards that good husbandry, than he.

But I know not by what forwardness in his Stars, B O O K
he took more pains in examining, and inquiring I.
into other Men's Offices, than in the discharge of
his own; and not so much joy in what he Had, as
trouble and agony for what he had Not. The truth
is, he had so vehement a desire to be the sole
Favorite, that he had no relish of the Power he had:
and in that contention he had many Rivals, who
had credit enough to do him ill Offices, though not
enough to satisfy their own Ambition; the King
himself being resolved to hold the Reins in his own
hands, and to put no further trust in others, than
was necessary for the Capacity they served in. Which
Resolution in his Majesty was no sooner believed,
and the Treasurer's Pretence taken notice of, than
he found the number of his Enemies exceedingly
increased, and others to be less eager in the pursuit
of his Friendship; and every day discovered some
Infirmities in him, which being before known to
few, and not taken notice of, did now expose him
both to Public Reproach, and to private Animo-
sities: and even his Vices admitted those contradic-
tions in them, that he could hardly enjoy the plea-
sant fruit of any of them. That which first exposed
him to the Public Jealousy, which is always attend-
ed with Public Reproach, was the concurrent
suspicion of his Religion. His Wife, and all his
Daughters were declared of the Roman Religion:
and though he Himself, and his Sons, sometimes
went to Church, he was never thought to have
Zeal for it; and his Domestic conversation and
dependants, with whom only he used entire freedom,

{B O O K
I.

were all known Papists; and were believed to be Agents for the rest. And yet with all this disadvantage to himself, he never had reputation and credit with that Party; who were the only people of the Kingdom who did not believe him to be of their Profession. For the Penal Laws (those only excepted which were Sanguinary, and even those sometimes let loose) were never more rigidly Executed, nor had the Crown ever so great a Revenue from them, as in his time; nor did they ever pay so dear for the favors, and indulgences of his Office towards them.

No Man had greater ambition to make his Family great, or stronger designs to leave a great Fortune to it. Yet his Expenses were so prodigious, especially in his House, that all the ways he used for supply, which were all that occurred, could not serve his turn; in so much that he contracted so great Debts (the anxiety whereof, he pretended, broke his mind, and restrained that attention, and industry, which was necessary for the due execution of his Office) that the King was pleased Twice to pay his Debts; at least, towards it, to disburse forty thousand pounds in ready money out of his Exchequer. Besides, his Majesty gave him a whole Forest [*Chute Forest in Hampshire*] and much other land belonging to the Crown; which was the more taken notice of, and Murmured against, because, being the chief Minister of the Revenue, he was particularly obliged, as much as in him lay, to prevent, and even oppose such Disinherison; and because, under that obligation, he had avowedly, and sowerly crossed the pretences of other Men, and

restrained the King's Bounty from being exercised almost to any. And he had that advantage (if he had made the right use of it) that his Credit was ample enough (seconded by the King's own experience, and observation, and inclination) to Retrench very much of the late unlimited Expenses, and especially those of Bounties; which from the death of the Duke ran in narrower Channels, and never so much overflowed as towards himself, who stopped the current to other Men.

He was of an imperious nature, and nothing wary in disobliging and provoking other Men, and had too much courage in offending and incensing them: but after having offended them, he was of so unhappy a Feminine temper, that he was always in a terrible fright and apprehension of them.

He had not that application, and submission, and reverence for the Queen, as might have been expected from his Wisdom and Breeding; and often crossed her pretences and desires, with more rudeness than was natural to him. Yet he was impertinently solicitous to know what her Majesty said of him in private, and what Resentments she had towards him. And when by some Confidants, who had their ends upon him from those Offices, he was informed of some bitter expressions fallen from her Majesty, he was so exceedingly afflicted, and tormented with the sense of it, that sometimes by passionate complaints, and representations to the King; sometimes by more dutiful addresses, and expostulations with the Queen, in bewailing his misfortune; he frequently exposed himself, and left his con-

B O O K

I.

dition worse than it was before; and the Eclaircissement commonly ended in the discovery of the persons from whom he had received his most secret intelligence.

He quickly lost the character of a bold, stout, and magnanimous Man, which he had been long reputed to be in worse times: and, in his most prosperous season, fell under the reproach of being a Man of big looks, and of a mean and abject Spirit.

There was a very ridiculous Story at that time in the mouths of many, which, being a known truth, may not be unfitly mentioned in this place, as a kind of illustration of the Humor, and Nature of the Man. Sir *Julius Cæsar* was then Master of the Rolls, and had, inherent in his Office, the indubitable right and disposition of the Six-Clerks places; all which he had for many years, upon any vacancy, bestowed to such Persons as he thought fit. One of those Places was become void, and designed by the Old Man to his son *Robert Cæsar*, a Lawyer of a good name, and exceedingly beloved. The Lord Treasurer (as he was vigilant in such cases) had notice of the Clerk's expiration so soon, that he procured the King to send a message to the Master of the Rolls, expressly forbidding him to dispose of that Six-Clerks place, till his Majesty's pleasure should be further made known to him. It was the first Command of that kind that had been heard of, and was felt by the Old Man very Sensibly. He was indeed very old, and had out-lived most of his Friends; so that his Age was an objection against him; many Persons of Quality

being dead, who had, for recompence of Services, procured the Reversion of his Office. The Treasurer found it no hard matter so far to terrify him, that (for the King's service, as was pretended) he admitted for a Six Clerk a person recommended by him (Mr *Fern* a dependant upon him) who paid six thousand pound ready money; which, Poor Man! he lived to repent in a Jail. This work being done at the charge of the poor Old Man, who had been a Privy-Counsellor from the entrance of King *James*, had been Chancellor of the Exchequer, and served in other Offices; the depriving him of his Right made a great noise: and the condition of his Son (his Father being not likely to live to have the disposal of another Office in his power) who, as was said before, was generally beloved, and esteemed, was argument of great compassion; and was lively, and successfully represented to the King himself; who was graciously pleased to promise, that, "If the Old Man chanced to die before any other of the Six-Clerks, that Office, when it should fall, should be conferred on his Son, whosoever should succeed him as Master of the Rolls:" which might well be provided for, and the Lord Treasurer obliged himself (to expiate the injury) to procure some Declaration to that purpose, under his Majesty's Sign Manual; which, however easy to be done, he long forgot, or neglected.

One day the Earl of *Tullibardine*, who was nearly allied to Mr. *Caspar*, and much his Friend, being with the Treasurer, passionately asked him, "Whether he had done that business?" To whom he

BOOK answered with a seeming trouble, "That he had
1. " forgotten it, for which he was heartily sorry;
" and if he would give him a little Note in writing,
" for a Memorial, he would put it amongst those
" which he would despatch with the King that
" afternoon." The Earl presently writ in a little
paper, *Remember Cæsar*; and gave it to him; and
he put it into that little Pocket, where, he said,
he kept all his Memorials which were first to be
transacted.

Many days passed, and *Cæsar* never thought of.
At length, when he changed his Clothes, and he
who waited on him in his Chamber, according to
custom, brought him all the Notes and Papers
which were left in those he had left off, which
he then commonly perused; when he found this
little Billet, in which was only written *Remember
Cæsar*, and which he had never read before, he
was exceedingly confounded, and knew not what
to make, or think of it. He sent for his bosom-
Friends, with whom he most confidently consulted,
and showed the Paper to them, the contents where-
of he could not conceive: but that it might pro-
bably have been put into his hand (because it was
found in that enclosure, wherein he put all things
of moment which were given him) when he was
in motion, and in the Privy Lodgings in the Court.
After a serious and melancholic deliberation, it
was agreed, that it was the advertisement from
some Friend, who durst not Own the discovery:
that it could signify nothing but that there was a
Conspiracy against his life, by his many and mighty

Enemies: and They all knew *Cæsar's* fate, by contemning, or neglecting Such animadversions. And therefore they concluded, that he should pretend to be Indisposed, that he might not stir abroad all that day; nor that any might be admitted to him, but Persons of undoubted Affections: that at night, the Gates should be shut early, and the Porter enjoined to open them to nobody, nor to go himself to bed till the morning, and that some Servants should watch with him, lest Violence might be used at the Gate; and that They themselves, and some other Gentlemen, would sit up all the night, and attend the Event. Such Houses are always in the morning haunted by early Suitors; but it was very late before any could now get admittance into the House; the Porter having quitted some of that arrear of sleep, which he owed to himself for his night's watching; which he excused to his Acquaintance by whispering to them, "That his Lord " should have been Killed that night, which had " kept all the House from going to bed." And shortly after, the Earl of *Tullibardine* asking him, Whether he had remembered *Cæsar*? the Treasurer quickly recollected the Ground of his perturbation, and could not forbear imparting it to his Friends, who likewise affected the communication, and so the whole Jest came to be discovered.

To conclude, all the Honors the King conferred upon him (as he made him a Baron, then an Earl, and Knight of the Garter; and above this, gave a young beautiful Lady nearly allied to his Majesty, and to the Crown of *Scotland*, in Marriage to his

B O O K I. eldest Son) could not make him think himself Great enough. Nor could all the King's Bounties, nor his own large Accessions, raise a Fortune to his Heir; but after six or eight years spent in outward opulency, and inward murmur and trouble that it was not greater; after vast sums of money and great wealth gotten, and rather consumed than enjoyed; without any sense or delight in so great Prosperity, with the agony that it was no greater; He Died unlamented by Any; bitterly mentioned by Most who never pretended to love him; and severely censured, and complained of by Those who expected most from him, and deserved best of him; and left a numerous Family, which was in a short time worn out, and yet outlived the Fortune he left behind him.

Of the Earl of
Dorchester,
Lord Privy-
Seal.

The next great Counsellor of State was the Lord Privy-Seal, who was likewise of a Noble extraction, and of a Family at that time very fortunate. His Grandfather had been Lord Chief Justice, and left by King *Harry* the Eighth one of the Executors of his last Will. He was the younger Son of his Father, and brought up in the study of the Law, in the Middle Temple; and had passed, and, as it were, made a progress through all the eminent Degrees of the Law, and in the State. At the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, or thereabouts, he was Recorder of *London*; then the King's Serjeant at Law; afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Before the death of King *James*, by the Favor of the Duke of *Buckingham*, he was raised to the Place of Lord High Treasurer of *England*; and within less than a

year afterwards, by the withdrawing of that Favor, he was reduced to the almost empty Title of President of the Council; and, to allay the sense of the dishonor, created Viscount *Mandevile*. He bore the Diminution very well, as he was a wise man, and of an excellent temper; and quickly recovered so much grace, that he was made Earl of *Manchester*, and Lord Privy-Seal, and enjoyed that Office to his death; whilst he saw many Removes, and Degradations, in all the other Offices of which he had been possessed.

He was a man of great Industry, and Sagacity in Business, which he delighted in exceedingly; and preserved so great a vigor of Mind, even to his death (when he was very near eighty years of age) that some, who had known him in his younger years, did believe him to have much quicker Parts years age, than before. His Honors had grown faster on him than his Fortunes; which made him too solicitous to advance the latter, by all the ways which offered themselves; whereby he exposed himself to some inconvenience, and many reproaches, and became less capable of serving the Public by his Counsels, and Authority; which his known wisdom, long experience, and confessed gravity, and ability, would have enabled him to have done; most men considering more the Person that speaks, than the Things he says. And he was unhappily too much used as a Check upon the Lord *Coventry*; and when that Lord perplexed their counsels, and designs, with inconvenient objections in Law, the Authority of the Lord *Manchester*, who had trod the same paths,

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B O O K was still called upon; and he did too frequently gratify their unjustifiable designs, and pretences: a guilt and mischief, all men who are obnoxious, or who are thought to be so, are liable to, and can hardly preserve themselves from. But his Virtues so far weighed down his Infirmities, that he maintained a good general reputation, and credit with the whole Nation, and People; he being always looked upon, as full of Integrity, and Zeal to the Protestant Religion, as it was established by Law, and of unquestionable Loyalty, Duty, and Fidelity to the King; which two Qualifications will ever gather popular Breath enough to fill the Sails, if the Vessel be competently provided with Ballast. He Died in a lucky time, in the beginning of the 1st Illion, when neither Religion, Loyalty, Law, Reason, or Wisdom, could have provided for any man's Security.

Of the Earl of
Arundel.

The Earl of *Arundel* was the next Officer of State, who, in his own Right, and Quality, preceded the rest of the Council. He was generally thought to be a proud man, who lived always within himself, and to himself, conversing little with any who were in common conversation; so that he seemed to live as it were in another Nation, his House being a place to which all people resorted who resorted to no other place; Strangers, or such who affected to look like Strangers, and dressed themselves accordingly. He resorted sometimes to the Court, because There only was a greater man than himself; and went thither the seldomer, because there Was a greater man than himself. He lived towards all Favorites,

and great Officers, without any kind of condescension, and rather suffered himself to be ill treated by their power and authority (for he was often in Disgrace, and once or twice Prisoner in the Tower) than to descend in making any application to them.

And upon these Occasions he spent a great interval of his time in several Journeys into foreign Parts, and, with his Wife and Family, had lived some years in *Italy*; the humor, and manners of which Nation he seemed most to like, and approve, and affected to imitate. He had a good fortune by Descent, and a much greater from his Wife, who was the sole Daughter upon the matter (for neither of the two Sisters left any Issue) of the great House of *Shrewsbury*; but his Expenses were without any measure, and always exceeded very much his Revenue. He was willing to be thought a Scholar, and to understand the most mysterious parts of Antiquity, because he made a wonderful and costly Purchase of excellent Statues, whilst he was in *Italy*, and in *Rome* (some whereof he could never obtain permission to remove from *Rome*, though he had paid for them) and had a rare Collection of the most curious Medals. As to all parts of Learning he was almost illiterate, and thought no other part of History so considerable, as what related to his own Family; in which, no doubt, there had been some very memorable Persons. It cannot be denied that he had in his person, in his aspect, and countenance, the appearance of a great man, which he preserved in his gait, and motion. He wore and affected a Habit very different from that of the time, such as men

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B O O K had only beheld in the Pictures of the most considerable Men; all which drew the eyes of most, and the reverence of many towards him, as the Image and Representative of the Primitive Nobility, and Native Gravity of the Nobles, when they had been most Venerable: but this was only his outside; his nature and true humor being much disposed to levity, and delights, which indeed were very despicable and childish. He was rather thought not to be much concerned for Religion, than to incline to this, or that Party of any: and had little other affection for the Nation or the Kingdom, than as he had a great share in it, in which like the great Leviathan he might sport himself; from which he withdrew, as soon as he discerned the repose thereof was like to be disturbed, and died in *Italy*, under the same doubtful character of Religion in which he lived.

OF William
Earl of Pem-
broke.

William Earl of Pembroke was next, a man of another mould, and making, and of another fame, and reputation with all men, being the most universally beloved and esteemed of any man of that age; and, having a great Office in the Court, he made the Court itself better esteemed, and more revered in the Country. And as he had a great number of Friends of the best men, so no man had ever the confidence to avow himself to be his Enemy. He was a man very well bred, and of excellent parts, and a graceful Speaker upon any subject, having a good proportion of Learning, and a ready Wit to apply it, and enlarge upon it: of a pleasant and facetious humor, and a disposition affable, generous, and

and magnificent. He was master of a great Fortune from his ancestors, and had a great addition by his Wife, another Daughter, and Heir of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, which he enjoyed during his life, she outliving him: but all served not his expense, which was only limited by his great mind, and occasions to use it nobly.

He lived many years About the Court, before In it; and never By it: being rather regarded and esteemed by King *James*, than loved and favored. After the foul Fall of the Earl of *Somerſet*, he was made Lord Chamberlain of the King's House, more for the Court's ſake, than his Own; and the Court appeared with the more Luſtre, becauſe He had the Government of that Province. As he ſpent and lived upon his own Fortune, ſo he ſtood upon his own Feet, without any other ſupport than of his proper Virtue and Merit: and lived towards the Favorites with that decency, as would not ſuffer them to cenſure or reproach his Maſter's judgment, and election, but as with men of his own rank. He was exceedingly beloved in the Court, becauſe he never deſired to get that for Himſelf which Others labored for, but was ſtill ready to promote the pretences of worthy men. And he was equally celebrated in the Country, for having received no obligations from the court which might corrupt, or ſway his affections, and judgment: ſo that all who were diſpleaſed, and unſatisfied In the Court, or With the Court, were always inclined to put themſelves under his Banner, if he would have admitted them: and yet he did not ſo reject them, as to make them chuſe another Shel-

B O O K I. ter, but so far suffered them to depend on him, that he could restrain them from breaking out beyond private resentments, and murmurs.

He was a great lover of his Country, and of the Religion, and Justice, which he believed could only support it; and his Friendships were only with men of those Principles. And as his Conversation was most with men of the most pregnant parts, and understanding, so towards any such, who needed support, or encouragement, though unknown, if fairly recommended to him, he was very liberal. Sure never man was planted in a Court, that was fitter for that Soil, or brought better qualities with him to purify that Air.

Yet his memory must not be Flattered, that his virtues, and good inclinations may be Believed; he was not without some allay of Vice, and without being clouded with great Infirmities, which he had in too exorbitant a proportion. He indulged to himself the Pleasures of all kinds, almost in all excesses. To Women, whether out of his natural constitution, or for want of his domestic content and delight, (in which he was most unhappy, for he paid much too dear for his Wife's Fortune, by taking her Person into the bargain) he was immoderately given up. But therein he likewise retained such a power, and jurisdiction over his very appetite, that he was not so much transported with beauty, and outward allurements, as with those advantages of the mind, as manifested an extraordinary wit, and spirit, and knowledge, and administered great pleasure in the conversation. To these he sacrificed Himself, his

precious time, and much of his fortune. And some, who were nearest his trust and friendship, were not without apprehension, that his natural vivacity, and vigor of mind begun to lessen, and decline by those excessive Indulgences. BOOK
I.

About the time of the death of King *James*, or presently after, he was made Lord Steward of his Majesty's House; that the Staff of Chamberlain might be put into the hands of his Brother, the Earl of *Montgomery*, upon a new contract of Friendship with the Duke of *Buckingham*; after whose death, he had likewise such Offices of his, as he most affected, of honor and command; none of profit, which he cared not for: and within two years after, he died himself of an Apoplexy, after a full and chearful Supper.

A short Story may not be unfitly inserted, it being very frequently mentioned by a Person of known integrity, whose Character is here undertaken to be set down, and who, at that time, being on his way to *London*, met at *Maidenhead* some Persons of Quality, of relation or dependance upon the Earl of *Pembroke* (Sir *Charles Morgan*, commonly called General *Morgan*, who had commanded an Army in *Germany*, and defended *Stoad*; Dr. *Field*, then Bishop of *St. Davids*; and Dr. *Chafin*, the Earl's then Chaplain in his house, and much in his favor.) At Supper one of them drank a health to the Lord Steward: upon which another of them said, "that he
"believed his Lord was at that time very Merry,
"for he had now outlived the day, which his Tutor
"*Sandford* had prognosticated upon his Nativity he
"would not outlive; but he had done it now, for

B O O K I. "that was his Birth-day, which had completed
 I. "his age to fifty years." The next morning, by
 the time they came to *Colebrook*, they met with the
 news of his Death.

He Died exceedingly lamented by men of all qualities, and left many of his Servants and Dependants owners of good Estates, raised out of his employments, and bounty. Nor had his Heir cause to complain. For though his Expenses had been very magnificent (and it may be the less considered, and his providence the less, because he had no Child to inherit) in so much as he left a great Debt charged upon the Estate; yet considering the wealth he left in Jewels, Plate, and Furniture, and the Estate his Brother enjoyed in the right of his Wife (who was not fit to manage it herself) during her long life, he may be justly said to have inherited as good an Estate from him, as He had from his Father, which was one of the best in *England*.

OF Philip Earl
 of Montgo-
 mery.

The Earl of *Montgomery*, who was then Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and now Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Earl of *Dorset* were likewise of the Privy-Council; Men of very different Talents, and Qualifications. The former being a young man, scarce of age at the entrance of King *James*, had the good fortune by the comeliness of his person, his skill, and indefatigable industry in Hunting, to be the first who drew the King's eyes towards him with affection; which was quickly so far improved, that he had the reputation of a Favorite. Before the end of the first, or second year, he was made Gentleman of the King's Bed-chamber, and Earl of *Mont-*

gomery; which did the King no harm: For besides that he received the King's Bounty with more moderation than other men, who succeeded him; He was generally known, and as generally esteemed; being the Son of one Earl of *Pembroke*, and younger Brother to another, who liberally supplied his expense, beyond what his Annuity from his Father would bear.

He pretended to no other Qualifications, than to understand Horses and Dogs very well, which his Master loved him the better for (being, at his first coming into *England*, very jealous of those who had the reputation of great Parts) and to be believed honest and generous, which made him many Friends, and left him then no Enemy. He had not sat many years in that Sun-shine, when a new Comet appeared in Court, *Robert Carr*, a Scots-man, quickly after declared Favorite; upon whom the King no sooner fixed his eyes, but the Earl, without the least murmur, or indisposition, left all doors open for his entrance (A rare Temper! and it could proceed from nothing, but his great perfection in loving Field-sports) which the King received as so great an Obligation, that he always after loved him in the Second place, and commended him to his Son at his death, as a Man to be relied on in point of Honesty and Fidelity; though it appeared afterwards, that he was not strongly Built, nor had sufficient Ballast to endure a Storm, of which more will be said hereafter.

The other, the Earl of *Dorset*, was, to all intents, principles, and purposes another Man; his Person

Of Edward
Earl of Dorset.

B O O K beautiful, and graceful, and vigorous; his Wit pleasant, sparkling, and sublime; and his other Parts of Learning, and Language, of that lustre, that he could not miscarry in the World. The Vices he had, were of the Age, which he was not stubborn enough to contemn, or resist. He was a younger Brother, Grandchild to the great Treasurer *Buckhurst*, created, at the King's first Entrance, Earl of *Dorset*, who outlived his Father, and took care, and delight in the Education of his Grand-child, and left him a good Support for a younger Brother; besides a Wife, who was Heir to a fair Fortune. As his Person and Parts were such as are before mentioned, so he gave them full scope, without restraint; and indulged to his appetite all the Pleasures, that season of his life (the fullest of jollity, and riot of any that preceded, or succeeded) could tempt, or suggest to him.

He entered into a fatal Quarrel, upon a subject very unwarrantable, with a young Nobleman of *Scotland*, the Lord *Bruce*; upon which they both transported themselves into *Flanders*, and attended only by two Surgeons placed at a distance, and under an obligation not to stir, but upon the fall of one of them, they Fought under the Walls of *Antwerp*, where the Lord *Bruce* fell dead upon the place; and Sir *Edward Sackville* (for so he was then called) being likewise hurt, retired into the next Monastery, which was at hand. Nor did this miserable accident, which he always exceedingly lamented, make that thorough impression upon him, but that he indulged still too much to those importunate, and insatiate appetites, even of that individual Person, that had

so lately embarked him in that desperate enterprize; being too much Tinder not to be inflamed with those Sparks. B O O K I.

His Elder brother did not enjoy his Grandfather's Titles many years, before they descended, for want of Heirs male, to the Younger brother. But in these few years the Elder by an excess of expense in all the ways to which money can be applied, so entirely consumed almost the whole great Fortune that descended to him, that, when he was forced to leave the Title to his younger Brother, he left upon the matter nothing to him to support it; which exposed him to many difficulties, and inconveniencies. Yet his known great Parts, and the very good general Reputation he had acquired, notwithstanding his defects (for as he was eminent in the House of Commons, whilst he sat there; so he shined in the House of Peers, when he came to move in that sphere) inclined King *James* to call him to his Privy-Council before his death. And if he had not too much cherished his natural constitution, and propensity; and been too much grieved, and wrung by an uneasy and streight Fortune; he would have been an excellent man of business; for he had a very sharp, discerning spirit, and was a man of an obliging nature; much honor, and great generosity, and of most entire fidelity to the Crown.

There were two other Persons of much Authority in the Council, because of great Name in the Court; as they deserved to be, being without doubt two as accomplished Courtiers, as were found in the Palaces of all the Princes in *Europe*; and the greatest (if not

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Of the Earl
of Carlisle.

too great) improvers of that Breeding, and those Qualifications, with which Courts used to be adorned; the Earl of *Carlisle*, and the Earl of *Holland*: both (though men of pleasure) by their long experience in Court well acquainted with the affairs of the Kingdom, and better versed in those abroad, than any other who sat then at that Board.

The former, a Younger brother of a noble Family in *Scotland*, came into the Kingdom with King *James*, as a Gentleman; under no other character, than a Person well qualified by his breeding in *France*, and by study in humane Learning; in which he bore a good part in the entertainment of the King, who much delighted in that exercise: and by these means, and notable gracefulness in his behaviour, and affability; in which he excelled, he had wrought himself into a particular interest with his Master, and into greater affection and esteem with the whole *English* Nation, than any other of that Country; by chusing Their friendships, and conversation, and really preferring it to any of his Own: Insomuch as upon the King's making him Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, and Viscount *Doncaster*, by his Royal mediation (in which office he was a most prevalent Prince) he obtained the sole Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Denny* to be given him in marriage; by which he had a fair Fortune in Land provided for any Issue he should raise, and which his Son by that Lady lived long to enjoy.

He ascended afterwards, and with the expedition he desired, to the other Conveniencies of the Court. He was Groom of the Stole, and an Earl, and Knight

of the Garter; and married a beautiful young Lady, Daughter to the Earl of *Northumberland*, without any other approbation of her Father, or concernment in it, than suffering Him and Her to come into his presence after they were married. He lived rather in a fair Intelligence than any Friendship with the Favorites; having credit enough with his Master to provide for his own interest, and he troubled not himself for that of other men; and had no other consideration of money, than for the support of his lustre; and whilst he could do that, he cared not for money, having no bowels in the point of running in debt, or borrowing all he could.

He was surely a man of the greatest expense in his own person, of any in the age he lived; and introduced more of that expense in the excess of Clothes and Diet, than any other man; and was indeed the Original of all those inventions, from which others did but transcribe Copies. He had a great universal understanding, and could have taken as much delight in any other way, if he had thought any other as pleasant, and worth his care. But he found Business was attended with more Rivals, and vexations; and, he thought, with much less pleasure, and not more innocence.

He left behind him the reputation of a very fine Gentleman, and a most accomplished Courtier; and after having spent, in a very jovial life, above four hundred thousand pounds, which, upon a strict computation, he received from the Crown, he left not a House, nor Acre of Land to be remembered by. And when he had in his prospect (for he was

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BOOK I. very sharp-sighted, and saw as far before him as most Men) the gathering together of that Cloud in *Scotland*, which shortly after covered both Kingdoms, he Died with as much Tranquillity of Mind to all appearance, as used to attend a Man of more severe exercise of Virtue; and with as little apprehension of death, which he expected many days.

Of the Earl
of Holland.

The Earl of *Holland* was a younger Son of a Noble House, and of a very fruitful Bed, which divided a numerous Issue between two great Fathers: the Eldest, many Sons and Daughters to the Lord *Rich*; the Younger, of both Sexes, to *Mountjoy* Earl of *Devonshire*. The reputation of his Family gave him no great advantage in the World, though his eldest Brother was Earl of *Warwick*, and owner of a great Fortune; and his Younger Earl of *Newport*, of a very plentiful Revenue likewise. He, after some time spent in *France*, betook himself to the War in *Holland*, which he intended to have made his Profession; where, after he had made two or three Campaigns, according to the custom of the *English* Voluntiers, he came in the leisure of the Winter to visit his Friends in *England*, and the Court, that shined then in the plenty and bounty of King *James*; and about the time of the infancy of the Duke of *Buckingham's* favors, to whom he grew in a short time very acceptable. But his Friendship was more entire to the Earl of *Carlisle*, who was more of his nature, and humor, and had a generosity more applicable at that time to his fortune and his ends. And it was thought by many who stood within view, that for some years he supported himself upon the

Familiarity, and Friendship of the other; which continued mutually between them very many years, with little interruption to their death. B O O K
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He was a very handsome Man, of a lovely, and winning presence, and genteel conversation; by which he got so easy an admission into the Court, and grace of King *James*, that he gave over the thought of further intending the life of a Soldier. He took all the ways he could to endear himself to the Duke, and to his confidence, and wisely declined the receiving any grace or favor, but as His donation; above all, avoided the suspicion that the King had any kindness for him, upon any account but of the Duke, whose Creature he desired to be esteemed, though the Earl of *Carlisle's* Friend. And he prospered so well in that Pretence, that the King scarce made more haste to advance the Duke, than the Duke did to promote the other.

He first preferred him to a Wife, the Daughter and Heir of *Cope*, by whom he had a good Fortune; and amongst other things, the Manor and Seat of *Kenington*, of which he was shortly after made Baron. And he had quickly so entire a confidence in him, that the Duke prevailed with the King to put him about his Son, the Prince of *Wales*, and to be a Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, before the Duke himself had reason to promise himself any proportion of his Highness's grace, and protection. He was then made Earl of *Holland*. Captain of the Guard, Knight of the Garter, and of the Privy-Council; sent the first Ambassador into *France*, to treat the marriage with the Queen, or rather privately to treat about the marriage

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before he was Ambaffador. And when the Duke went to the Ifle of *Re*, he trusted the Earl of *Holland* with the command of that Army with which He was to be recruited, and affifted.

In this Confidence, and in this Pofture he was left by the Duke when he was killed; and having the advantage of the Queen's good opinion, and favor (which the Duke neither had, nor cared for) he made all poffible approaches towards the obtaining His trust, and fucceeding him in His power; or rather that the Queen might have folely that Power, and he only be Subfervient to her; and upon this account, he made a continual War upon the Earl of *Portland*, the Treafurer, and all others who were not gracious to the Queen, or defired not the increafe of her Authority. And in this State, and under this Protection, he received every day new Obligations from the King, and great Bounties, and continued to Flourish above any man in the Court, whilft the Weather was fair: but the Storm did no fooner arife, but he changed fo much, and declined fo faft from the Honor he was thought to be mafter of, that he fell into that Condition, which there will be hereafter too much caufe to mention, and to enlarge upon.

Of the two
Secretaries of
State, Sir
John Coke,
and Sir Dud-
ley Carleton.

The two Secretaries of State (who were not in thofe days Officers of that magnitude they have been fince, being only to make Defpatches upon the conclufion of Councils, not to govern, or prefide in thofe Councils) were Sir *John Coke*, who, upon the death of Sir *Albert Moreton*, was, from being Mafter of Requests, preferred to be Secretary of State; and

Sir *Dudley Carleton*, who from his Employment in *Holland*, was put into the place of the Lord *Conway*, who, for age and incapacity, was at last removed from the Secretary's office, which he had exercised many years with very notable Insufficiency; so that King *James* was wont pleasantly to say, "that *Stenny* (the Duke of *Buckingham*) had given him two very proper Servants; a Secretary, who could neither write, nor read; and a Groom of his Bed-chamber, who could not truss his points: Mr. *Clark* having but one hand."

Of these two Secretaries the Former was a man of a very narrow education, and a narrower nature; having continued long in the University of *Cambridge*, where he had gotten Latin learning enough; and afterwards in the Country in the condition of a private Gentleman, till after he was fifty years of age; when, upon some reputation he had for Industry and Diligence, he was called to some painful employment in the office of the Navy, which he discharged well; and afterwards to be Master of Requests, and then to be Secretary of State, which he enjoyed to a great age: and was a man rather unadorned with any parts of vigor and quickness, and unendowed with any notable virtues, than notorious for any weakness or defect of understanding, or transported with any vitious inclinations, appetite to Money only excepted. His cardinal perfection was Industry, and his most eminent infirmity Covetousness. His long Experience had informed him well of the State and affairs of *England*: but of Foreign transactions, or the common interest of Chris-

B O O K tian Princes, he was entirely undiscerning, and
I. ignorant.

Sir *Dudley Carleton* was of a quite contrary nature, constitution, and education, and understood all that related to Foreign employments, and the condition of other Princes, and Nations very well; but was unacquainted with the Government, Laws, and Customs of his own Country, and the Nature of the People. He was a Younger son in a good Gentleman's Family, and bred in *Christ-Church*, in the University of *Oxford*, where he was a Student of the Foundation, and a young man of Parts, and towardly expectation. He went from thence early into *France*, and was soon after Secretary to Sir *Harry Nevil*, the Ambassador there. He had been sent Ambassador to *Venice*, where he resided many years with good reputation; and was no sooner returned from thence into *England*, than he went Ambassador into *Holland* to the States General, and resided there when that Synod was assembled at *Dort*, which hath given the World so much occasion since for uncharitable Disputations, which They were called together to prevent. Here the Ambassador was not thought so equal a Spectator, or Assessor, as he ought to have been; but by the insusions he made into King *James*, and by his own activity, he did all he could to discountenance that Party that was most Learned, and to raise the credit and authority of the Other; which hath since proved as inconvenient, and troublesome to their own Country as to their Neighbours.

He was once more Ambassador extraordinary in *Holland* after the death of King *James*, and was the

last who was admitted to be Present, and to Vote B O O K
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in the General Assembly of the States, under that Character; of which great Privilege the Crown had been possessed from a great part of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and through the time of King *James*, to that moment; which administered fresh matter of Murmur for the giving up the Towns of the *Brill*, and *Flushing*, which had been done some years before by King *James*; without which men thought those States would not have had the courage so soon to have degraded the Crown of *England* from a Place in their Councils, which had prospered so eminently under the Shadow of that Power and Support. As soon as he returned from *Holland*, he was called to the Privy-Council. The making him Secretary of State, and a Peer of the Realm, when his Estate was scarce visible, was the last piece of Workmanship the Duke of *Buckingham* lived to finish, who seldom satisfied himself with conferring a single obligation.

The Duke had observed, and discovered, that the channel in which the Church-Promotions had formerly run, had been liable to some corruptions, at least to many reproaches; and therefore had committed the sole representation of those affairs, and the recommending to the Vacancies which should happen, to Dr. *Laud*, then Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and sworn of the Privy-Council. And the King, after the Duke's death, continued that trust in the same Hands, infinitely to the Benefit and Honor of the Church, though, it may be, no less to the Prejudice of the poor Bishop; who, too

The Rise of
Arch-Bishop
Laud's Power
in the Church.

B O O K secure in a good Conscience, and most sincere
 I. worthy Intention (with which no man was ever more plentifully replenished) thought he could manage, and discharge the place and office of the Greatest Minister in the Court (for he was quickly made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*) without the least condescension to the Arts and Stratagems of the Court, and without any other Friendship, or Support, than what the splendor of a Pious life, and his unpolished Integrity would reconcile to him: Which was an unskilful measure in a Licitious age, and may deceive a good man in the best of times that shall succeed; which exposed him to such a torrent of Adversity and Misery, as we shall have too natural an occasion to Lament in the following Discourse, in which it will be more seasonable to enlarge upon his singular Abilities, and immense Virtue.

There were more (too many more) Honorable Persons in that time of the Privy-Council, whose Faculties were not notorious enough to give them any great part in the Affairs, nor had their Advice much influence upon them. Other very notable Men were shortly after added to the Council, who will hereafter be remembered in their proper Places and Seasons. What hath been said before contains Information enough of the Persons in Employment, and the State of the Court and Kingdom, when the Duke of *Buckingham* was taken from it; by which, and the lively Reflections upon the Qualities, and Qualifications of the several Persons in Authority in Court, and Council, no man could expect that
 the

the vigorous designs and enterprizes, undertaken by the Duke, would be pursued with equal resolution and courage: but that much the greater part of them would be wholly intent upon their own accommodations in their Fortunes (in which they abounded not) or in their Ease, and Pleasure, which they most passionately affected; having, as hath been said, no other consideration of the Public, than that no disturbance therein might interrupt their quiet in their own days: And that the rest, who had larger hearts, and more public spirits, would extend their labor, activity, and advice, only to Secure the empire at Home by all Peaceable arts, and advancement of Trade, which might gratify the People, and fill the empty Coffers of the impoverished Crown. To which end the most proper expedients were best understood by them, not to enlarge it, by continuing and propagating the War; the ways, and means whereof they knew not how to comprehend; and had all the desperate imaginations, and jealousies of the end and necessary consequences of it. And so they All concurred (though in nothing else) in their unanimous Advice to the King "to put the quickest Period, he could possibly, to the expensive War against the two Crowns:" and, his Majesty following their Advice, a Peace was made with both, upon Better terms, and conditions, and in Less time, than from the known Impatience of the War could reasonably have been expected, or hoped for. And after some unquietness of the People, and unhappy assaults upon the Prerogative by the Parliament, which

B O O K

I.

A Peace
with the two
Crowns.

BOOK

I.

The third
Parliament
Dissolved.

produced its Dissolution, and thereupon some froward and obstinate disturbances in Trade, there quickly followed so excellent a Composure throughout the whole Kingdom, that the like Peace, and Plenty, and universal Tranquillity for ten years was never enjoyed by any Nation; and was the more visible and manifest in *England*, by the sharp and bloody War suddenly entered into between the two neighbour Crowns, and the universal Conflagration that, from the Invasion of the *Swedes*, covered the whole Empire of *Germany*. And so we shall return to the Discourse, to which this very long Digression hath given a greater interruption than was intended.

The Ill Effects of the
Proclamation set forth
upon breaking up of the
second Parliament.

That Proclamation, mentioned before, at the breaking up of the last Parliament, and which was commonly understood "to inhibit all men to Speak
" of another Parliament," produced two very ill Effects of different natures. It afflicted many Good men (who otherwise were enough scandalized at those Distempers, which had Incensed the King) to that degree, that it made them capable of receiving some Impressions from Those who were diligent in whispering and infusing an opinion into men, "that
" there was really an Intention to Alter the form of
" Government both in Church, and State; of which,
" said they, a greater Instance cannot be given,
" than this public declaring (as it was interpreted)
" that we shall have no more Parliaments". Then, this freedom from the danger of such an Inquisition did not only encourage ill men to all boldness and licence, but wrought so far upon Men less inclined to ill (though not built for Examples) that they

kept not those strict guards upon themselves they used to do; especially if they found themselves above the reach of ordinary Justice, and feared not extraordinary, they by degrees thought that no Fault which was like to find no Punishment. Supplemental Acts of State were made to supply defects of Laws; and so Tonnage, and Poundage, and other duties upon Merchandizes, were collected by Order of the Board, which had been positively refused to be settled by Act of Parliament, and new, and greater Impositions laid upon Trade: Obsolete Laws were revived, and rigorously executed, wherein the Subject might be taught how unthrifty a thing it was, by too strict a detaining of what was His, to put the King as strictly to inquire what was his Own.

BOOK
I.
Projects of
all kinds.

By this ill Husbandry the King received a vast sum of Money from all Persons of Quality, or indeed of any reasonable condition throughout the Kingdom, upon the Law of Knighthood; which, though it had a foundation in Right, yet, in the circumstances of Proceeding, was very grievous. And no less unjust Projects of all kinds, Many ridiculous, Many scandalous, All very grievous, were set on foot; the Envy and Reproach of which came to the King, the Profit to other Men: insomuch that, of two hundred thousand pound drawn from the Subject, by these ways, in a year, scarce fifteen hundred came to the King's use, or account. To recompense the damage the Crown sustained by the Sale of the old Lands, and by the Grant of new Pensions, the old Laws of the Forest were revived, by which not

That of
Knighthood.

That of re-
viving Fo-
rest Laws.

B O O K only great Fines were imposed, but great Annual
I. Rents intended, and like to be settled by way of Contract; which Burden lighted most upon Persons of Quality and Honor, who thought themselves above ordinary oppressions, and were therefore like to remember it with more sharpness. Lastly, for a Spring and Magazine that should have no bottom, and for an everlasting Supply of all occasions, a Writ was framed in a Form of Law, and directed to the Sheriff of every County of *England*, "To provide a Ship of War for the King's service, and to send it, amply provided and fitted, by such a day, to such a place;" and with that Writ were sent to each Sheriff Instructions, that, "instead of a Ship, he should levy upon his County such a Sum of Money, and return the same to the Treasurer of the Navy for his Majesty's use, with direction, in what manner he should proceed against such as refused:" and from hence that Tax had the denomination of *Ship-money*; a word of a lasting sound in the memory of this Kingdom; by which for some years really accrued the yearly Sum of two hundred thousand pounds to the King's Coffers: and it was in truth the only Project that was accounted to his Own service. And, after the continued receipt of it for about four years together, it was at last (upon the refusal of a Private Gentleman to pay twenty or thirty Shillings as his share) with great solemnity publicly Argued before all the Judges of *England* in the Exchequer-Chamber, and by much the major part of them, the King's right to Impose asserted, and the Tax adjudged

That of
 Ship-money.

Lawful; which judgment proved of more advantage, and credit to the Gentleman condemned (Mr. Hambden) than to the King's service. B O O K
I.

For the better Support of these extraordinary ways, and to Protect the agents, and instruments, who must be employed in them, and to Discourtenance, and Suppress all bold inquiries, and opposers, the Council-Table, and Star-Chamber enlarged their Jurisdictions to a vast extent, "holding" (as *Thucydides* said of the *Athenians*) "for Honorable, that which Pleased, and for Just, that which Profited;" and being the Same persons in Several rooms, grew both Courts of Law to determine Right, and Courts of Revenue to bring Money into the Treasury; the Council-Table by Proclamation enjoining to the People what was not enjoined by the Law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited; and the Star-Chamber censuring the breach, and disobedience to those Proclamations by very great Fines, and, Imprisonment; so that any disrespect to any Acts of State, or to the Persons of States-men, was in no time more penal, and those Foundations of Right, by which Men valued their Security, to the apprehension and understanding of Wise men, never more in danger to be destroyed.

And here I cannot but again take the liberty to say, that the Circumstances, and Proceedings in those new extraordinary cases, stratagems, and impositions, were very Unpolitic, and even Destructive to the Services intended. And if the business of Ship-money, being an Imposition by the State, under the notion of necessity, upon a prospect of danger,

The powers
of the Council-
Table and
Star Chamber
enlarged.

BOOK which private Persons could not modestly think themselves qualified to discern, had been managed in the same extraordinary way as the Naval Loan (which was the imposing the Five Subsidies after the second Parliament spoken of before) was; Men would much easier have submitted to it; as it is notoriously known, that Pressure was born with much more cheerfulness before the Judgment for the King than ever it was after; Men before pleasing themselves with doing somewhat for the King's service, as a testimony of their Affection, which they were not bound to do; many really believing the necessity, and therefore thinking the Burden reasonable; others observing, that the advantage to the King was of importance, when the damage to them was not considerable; and all assuring themselves, that when they should be weary, or unwilling to continue the Payment, they might resort to the Law for relief, and find it. But when they heard this demanded in a Court of Law, as a Right, and found it, by sworn Judges of the Law, adjudged so, upon such grounds and reasons as every Stander-by was able to swear was not Law, and so had lost the pleasure and delight of being Kind, and Dutiful to the King; and, instead of Giving, were required to Pay, and by a Logic that left no Man any thing which he might call his Own, they no more looked upon it as the Case of One man, but the Case of the Kingdom, nor as an Imposition laid upon them by the King but by the Judges; which they thought themselves bound in Conscience to the Public Justice not to Submit to. It was an observation long ago by

Thucydides, “ That Men are much more passionate B O O K
 “ for Injustice, than for Violence ; because , says he, I.
 “ the one coming as from an equal , seems Rapine ;
 “ when the other proceeding from one stronger , is
 “ but the effect of necessity.” So , when Ship-money
 was transacted at the Council-Board , they looked
 upon it as a work of that Power they were all obliged
 to trust , and an effect of that Foresight they were
 naturally to rely upon. Imminent Necessity , and
 public Safety , were convincing persuasions ; and
 it might not seem of apparent ill consequence to
 them , that upon an emergent occasion the Regal
 Power should fill up an *hiatus* , or supply an Impo-
 tency in the Law. But when they saw in a Court of
 Law (that Law , that gave them Title to , and Pos-
 session of all that they had) Reason of State urged as
 Elements of Law , Judges as Sharp-sighted as Secre-
 taries of State , and in the mysteries of State ; Judge-
 ment of Law grounded upon matter of Fact , of which
 there was neither inquiry , nor proof ; and no Reason
 given for the payment of the thirty Shillings in ques-
 tion , but what included the Estates of all the Standers-
 by , they had no reason to hope that Doctrine , or
 the Promoters of it , would be contained within any
 bounds ; and it is no wonder that They who had so
 little reason to be pleased with their own condition ,
 were no less solicitous for , or apprehensive of , the
 inconveniencies that might attend any alteration.

And here the damage and mischief cannot be ex-
 pressed , that the Crown and State sustained by the
 deserved reproach and infamy that attended the
 Judges , being made use of in this , and like Acts of

B O O K power; there being no possibility to preserve the
 1. dignity, reverence, and estimation of the Laws themselves, but by the integrity and innocency of the Judges. And no question, as the exorbitancy of the House of Commons, in the next Parliament, proceeded principally from their contempt of the Laws, and that contempt from the scandal of that Judgment: so the concurrence of the House of Peers in that fury, can be imputed to no one thing more, than to the irreverence and scorn the Judges were justly in; who had been always before looked upon There as the Oracles of the Law, and the best Guides to assist that House in their opinions and actions: And the Lords now thought themselves excused for swerving from the rules and customs of their Predecessors (who in altering, and making of Laws, in judging of Things and Persons, had always observed the advice and judgment of those Sages) in not asking questions of Those whom they knew no body would believe; thinking it a just reproach upon them (who out of their Courtship had submitted the difficulties, and mysteries of the Law, to be measured by the standard of what they called General Reason, and explained by the Wisdom of State) that They themselves should make use of the Licence which the Others had taught them, and determine that to be Law, which they thought to be reasonable, or found to be convenient. If These men had preserved the simplicity of their Ancestors, in severely and strictly defending the Laws, Other men had observed the modesty of Theirs, in humbly and dutifully obeying them.

Upon this Consideration it is very observable, that in the wisdom of former times, when the Prerogative went highest (as very often it hath been sworn above any pitch we have seen it at in our times) never any Court of Law, very seldom any Judge, or Lawyer of reputation, was called upon to assist in an Act of Power; the Crown well knowing the moment of keeping Those the objects of reverence, and veneration with the People: and that though it might sometimes make fallies upon them by the Prerogative, yet the Law would keep the People from any Invasion of it, and that the King could never suffer, whilst the Law, and the Judges were looked upon by the Subject, as the *Asylum* for their Liberties, and Security. And therefore you shall find the Policy of many Princes hath endured as sharp animadversions, and reprehensions from the Judges of the Law, as their Piety hath from the Bishops of the Church; as having no less influence upon the People, under the reputation of Justice, by the one, than under the ties of Conscience and Religion, by the other.

To extend this consideration of the form, and circumstance of proceeding in Cases of an unusual nature a little farther; As it may be most behoveful for Princes in matters of Grace, and Honor, and in conferring of Favors upon their People, to transact the same as Publicly as may be, and by Themselves, or their Ministers to dilate upon it, and improve their lustre by any addition, or eloquence of Speech (where, it may be, every kind word, especially from the Prince himself, is looked upon as a new bounty) so it is as requisite in matters of judgment,

B O O K punishment, and censure upon Things, or Persons
I. (especially when the Case, in the nature of it, is unusual, and the rules in Judging as extraordinary) that the same be transacted as Privately, and with as little noise, and pomp of words, as may be. For (as Damage is much easier born, and submitted to by generous minds, than Disgrace) in the business of Ship money, and many other Cases in the Star-Chamber, and at Council-Board, there were many impertinencies, incongruities, and insolencies, in the Speeches, and Orations of the Judges, much more offensive, and much more scandalous than the Judgments, and Sentences themselves. Besides that Men's minds and understandings were more instructed to discern the consequence of things, which before they considered not. And undoubtedly my Lord *Finch's* Speech in the Exchequer-Chamber, made Ship-money much more abhorred, and formidable, than all the Commitments by the Council-Table, and all the Distresses taken by the Sheriffs in *England*: the major part of Men (besides the common unconcernedness in other Men's sufferings) looking upon those Proceedings with a kind of applause to themselves, to see other Men Punished, for not doing as they had done; which delight was quickly determined, when they found their own interest, by the unnecessary Logic of that Argument, no less concluded than Mr. *Hambden's*.

He hath been but an ill observer of the Passages of those times we speak of, who hath not seen many sober Men, who have been clearly satisfied with the conveniency, necessity, and justice of many Senten-

ces, depart notwithstanding extremely offended, and scandalized with the grounds, reasons, and expressions of Those who inflicted those censures; when they found Themselves, thinking to be only Spectators of other Men's sufferings, by some unnecessary Inference or Declaration, in probable danger to become the next Delinquents.

They who look back upon the Council-Books of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Acts of the Star-Chamber then, shall find as high instances of Power, and Sovereignty upon the Liberty, and Property of the Subject, as can be since given. But the art, order, and gravity of those Proceedings (where short, severe, constant rules were set, and smartly pursued, and the party felt only the weight of the Judgment, not the passion of his Judges) made them less taken notice of, and so less grievous to the Public, though as intolerable to the Person: whereas, since those excellent rules of the Council-Board were less observed, and debates (which ought to be in private, and in the absence of the party concerned, and thereupon the Judgment of the Table to be pronounced by one, without the interposition of others, or reply of the party) suffered to be public, questions to be asked, passions discovered, and opinions to be promiscuously delivered; all advice, directions, reprehensions, and censures of those Places grew to be in less reverence, and esteem: so that, besides the delay, and interruption in despatch, the justice and prudence of the Counsels did not many times weigh down the infirmity, and passion of the Counsellors; and both Suitors and Offenders

B O O K returned into their Country, with such exceptions,
I. and arguments against Persons; as brought, and prepared much prejudice to whatsoever should proceed from thence; and whatever Excuses shall be made, or Arguments given, that upon such extraordinary occasions there was a necessity of some pains, and care to convince Men's understandings of the reasons and grounds of their Proceeding (which, if what was done had been only *ad informandum Conscientiam* without reproach, or penalty, might have been reasonable) it is certain the inconveniency and prejudice, that grew thereby, was greater than the benefit: and the reasons of the Judges being many times not the reasons of the Judgment, those might more satisfactorily, and more shortly have been put in the Sentence itself, than spread in the Discourses of the Censurers.

These Errors (for Errors they were in View, and Errors they are proved by the Success) are not to be imputed to the Court, but to the Spirit, and Over-activity of the Lawyers themselves; who should more carefully have preserved their Profession, and its Professors, from being profaned by those Services, which have rendered both so obnoxious to reproach. There were two Persons of that Profession, and of that time, by whose several, and distinct constitutions (the one knowing nothing of, nor caring for the Court; the other knowing, or caring for nothing else) those Mischiefs were introduced, Mr. Noy, the Attorney General, and Sir John Finch, first, Lord Chief Justice

of the Common Pleas, and then Lord Keeper **B O O K**
of the Great Seal of *England*.

I.

The First upon the great fame of his Ability, and Learning (and he was very Able and Learned) was, **Of Attorney General Noy.**
by great industry and importunity from Court, persuaded, to accept that Place, for which all other Men labored (being the best, for Profit, that Profession is capable of) and so he suffered himself to be made the King's Attorney General. The Court made no impression upon his Manners; upon his mind it did: and though he wore about him an affected Morosity, which made him unapt to flatter other Men, yet even that Morosity and Pride rendered him the most liable to be grossly flattered himself, that can be imagined. And by this means the great Persons, who steered the Public Affairs, by admiring his Parts, and extolling his Judgment as well to his face, as behind his back, wrought upon him by degrees, for the eminency of the Service, to be an Instrument in all their Designs; thinking that he could not give a clearer testimony, that his knowledge in the Law was greater than all other Men's, than by making that Law which all other Men believed Not to be so. So he moulded, framed, and pursued the odious and crying Project of Soap; and with his own hand drew, and prepared the Writ for Ship-money; both which will be the lasting monuments of his Fame. In a word, he was an unanswerable instance, how necessary a good Education and knowledge of Men is to make a wise man, at least a man fit for business.

BOOK Sir *John Finch* had Much that the other wanted,

I. but Nothing that the other had Having led a free
 Of Sir John life in a restrained fortune, and having set up upon
 Finch. the stock of a good Wit, and natural Parts, without
 the superstructure of much knowledge in the Pro-
 fession by which he was to grow; he was willing
 to use those Weapons in which he had most Skill,
 and so (being not unseen in the affections of the Court,
 but not having reputation enough to guide, or
 reform them) he took up Ship-money where Mr.
Noy left it; and, being a Judge, carried it up to
 that pinnacle, from whence he almost broke his
 own neck; having, in his journey thither, had
 too much influence on his Brethren to induce
 them to concur in a Judgment they had all cause
 to repent. To which, his Declaration, after he
 was Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, must
 be added, upon a Demurrer put in to a Bill be-
 fore him, which had no other Equity in it, than
 an Order of the Lords of the Council; "that whilst
 "He was Keeper, no man should be so saucy as
 "to dispute those Orders, but that the Wisdom of
 "that Board should be always ground enough for
 "Him to make a Decree in Chancery;" which was
 so great an aggravation of the Excess of that Table,
 that it received more prejudice from that Act of
 unreasonable Countenance and Respect, than from
 all the Contempt could possibly have been offered
 to it. But of this no more.

The Felicity
 of the Times
 before the

Now after all this (and I hope I cannot be ac-
 cused of much Flattery in this Inquisition) I must
 be so Just as to say, that, during the whole time

that these Pressures were exercised, and those new **B O O K**
 and extraordinary Ways were run, that is, from **I.**
 the dissolution of the Parliament in the Fourth year, long Parlia-
 to the beginning of this Parliament, which was ment not-
 above twelve years, this Kingdom, and all his withstanding
 Majesty's Dominions (of the Interruption in *Scot-* some Inva-
land somewhat shall be said in its due time and place) sion on the
 enjoyed the greatest Calm, and the fullest measure Subject.
 of Felicity, that any People in any Age, for so
 long time together, have been blessed with; to
 the wonder, and envy of all the other parts of
Christendom.

In this Comparison I am neither unmindful of, Compared
 nor ungrateful for the Happy times of Queen *eliza-* with the
beth, and King *James*. But for the former, the times of Queen
 doubts, hazards, and perplexities, upon a total Elizabeth:
 change and alteration of Religion, and some con-
 fident Attempts upon a farther alteration by Those
 who thought the Reformation not carried far
 enough; the charge, trouble, and anxiety of a long
 continued War (how prosperous and successful soe-
 ver) even during that Queen's whole Reign; and
 (besides some domestic ruptures into Rebellion,
 frequently into Treason; and besides the blemish
 of an unparelled Act of Blood upon the Life of
 a Crowned neighbour Queen and Ally) the fear,
 and apprehension of what was to come (which
 is one of the most unpleasant kinds of Melancholy)
 from an unknown, at least an unacknowledged
 Successor to the Crown, clouded much of that Pro-
 sperity then, which now shines with so much splen-
 dor before our eyes in Chronicle.

B O O K

I.

And with the
times of King
James.

And for the other under King *James* (which indeed were excellent times , *bona si sua norint*) the mingling with a Stranger Nation , formerly not very gracious with This ; which was like to have more interest of Favor : the subjection to a Stranger Prince , whose nature and disposition they knew not : the discovery of a Treason , the most prodigious that had ever been attempted , upon his first entrance into the Kingdom : the Wants of the Crown not inferior to what it hath since felt (I mean whilst it sate right on the head of the King) and the Pressures upon the Subject of the same nature , and no less complained of : the Absence of the Prince in *Spain* , and the solicitude that his Highness should not be disposed in Marriage to the Daughter of that Kingdom , rendered the Calm and Tranquillity of that time less equal , and pleasant. To which may be added the Prosperity and Happiness of the Neighbour Kingdoms not much inferior to that of this , which , according to the pulse of States , is a great diminution of their health ; at least their Prosperity is much improved , and more visible , by the Misery , and Misfortunes of their Neighbours.

The Happiness of the times I now mention , was invidiously set off by this distinction , that every other Kingdom , every other State were entangled , and some almost destroyed by the rage , and fury of Arms ; those who were engaged in an ambitious Contention with their Neighbours , having the view and apprehensions of the Miseries , and Desolation , which they saw other States suffer by a Civil War ; whilst the Kingdoms we now lament , were alone
looked

looked upon as the Garden of the world; *Scotland* (which was but the Wilderness of that Garden) in a full, entire, and undisturbed Peace, which they had never seen; the rage and barbarism of their Private Feuds being composed to the reverence, or to the awe of public Justice; in a competency, if not in an excess of Plenty, which they had never hopes to see, and in a temper (which was the utmost that in those days was desired or hoped for) free from Rebellion. *Ireland*, which had been a Sponge to draw, and a Gulph to swallow all that could be spared, and all that could be got from *England*, merely to keep the reputation of a Kingdom, reduced to that good degree of Husbandry, and Government, that it not only Subsisted of itself, and gave this Kingdom all that it might have expected from it; but really increased the Revenue of the Crown forty or fifty thousand pounds a year, besides a considerable advantage to the People by the Traffic, and Trade from thence; Arts, and Sciences fruitfully planted there; and the whole Nation beginning to be so Civilized, that it was a Jewel of great Lustre in the Royal Diadem.

When these Outworks, were thus fortified, and adorned, it was no wonder if *England* was generally thought secure, with the advantages of its own Climate; the Court in great plenty, or rather (which is the discredit of plenty) excess, and luxury; the Country rich, and, which is more, fully enjoying the pleasure of its own wealth, and so the easier corrupted with the pride, and wantonness of it; the Church flourishing with learned, and extraor-

B O O K
I. dinary Men, and (which other good times had in some degree wanted) supplied with Oil to feed those Lamps; and the Protestant Religion more advanced against the Church of *Rome* by Writing (without prejudice to other Useful, and Godly labors) especially by those two Books of the late Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* his Grace, and of Mr. *Chillingworth*, than it had been from the Reformation; Trade increased to that degree, that we were the Exchange of *Christendom* (the Revenue from thence to the Crown being almost double to what it had been in the best times) and the Bullion of neighbour Kingdoms brought to receive a Stamp from the Mint of *England*; Foreign Merchants looking upon nothing so much their own, as what they had laid up in the Warehouses of this Kingdom; the Royal Navy, in number and equipage much above former times, very formidable at Sea; and the reputation of the Greatness, and Power of the King, much more with Foreign Princes than any of his Progenitors: for those rough Courses, which made him perhaps less Loved at home, made him more Feared abroad; by how much the Power of Kingdoms is more revered than their Justice by their Neighbours: and it may be this Consideration might not be the least Motive, and may not be the worst Excuse for those Counsels. Lastly for a complement of all these Blessings, they were enjoyed by, and under the Protection of a King, of the most Harmless disposition, the most exemplary Piety, the greatest Sobriety, Chastity, and Mercy, that any Prince hath been endowed

with (God forgive those that have not been Sensible of, and Thankful for those endowments) and who might have said, that which *Pericles* was proud of, upon his death-bed, concerning his Citizens, "that no *English*-man had ever worn a Mourning Gown through His occasion." In a word, many Wise men thought it a Time, wherein those two Adjuncts, which *Nerva* was Deified for uniting, *Imperium & Libertas*, were as well reconciled as is possible.

But all these Blessings could but enable, not compel us to be Happy: we wanted That sense, acknowledgment, and value of our own Happiness which All but We had: and took pains to make, when we could not find, ourselves Miserable. There was in truth a strange absence of understanding in most, and a strange perverseness of understanding in the rest: the Court full of excess, idleness, and luxury; the Country full of pride, mutiny, and discontent; every man more troubled and perplexed at that they called the Violation of one Law, than delighted or pleased with the Observation of all the rest of the Charter; never imputing the Increase of their receipts, revenue, and plenty, to the wisdom, virtue, and merit of the Crown, but objecting every small Imposition to the exorbitancy, and tyranny of the Government; the growth of Knowledge and Learning being disrelished, for the Infirmities of some learned Men, and the increase of Grace and Favor upon the Church more repined and murmured at, than the increase of Piety and Devotion in it, which was

B O O K as visible, acknowledged, or taken notice of; whilst
 I. the Indiscretion and Folly of one Sermon at *White-Hall* was more bruited abroad, and commented upon, than the Wisdom, Sobriety, and Devotion of a hundred.

It cannot be denied but there was sometimes Preached there Matter very unfit for the Place, and very scandalous for the Persons, who presumed often to determine things out of the verge of their own Profession, and, *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, gave unto Cæsar, what Cæsar, refused to receive, as not belonging to him. But it is as true (as was once said by a Man fitter to be believed in that point than I, and one not suspected for flattering of the Clergy) "that if the Sermons of those times "Preached in Court, were collected together, and "published, the world would receive the best bulk "of Orthodox Divinity, profound Learning, convincing Reason, natural powerful Eloquence, and "admirable Devotion, that hath been communicated "in any Age since the Apostles time." And I cannot but say, for the honor of the King, and of Those who were trusted by him in his Ecclesiastical collations (who have received but sad rewards for their uprightness) in those reproached, condemned times, there was not one Church-man, in any degree of favor, or acceptance (and this the Inquisition, that hath been since made upon them, a stricter never was in any Age, must confess) of a scandalous insufficiency in Learning, or of a more scandalous condition of Life; but on the contrary, most of them of confessed eminent parts in Know-

ledge, and of virtuous and unblemished Lives. B O O K
 And therefore Wise men knew, that That, which I.
 looked like Pride in some, and like Petulance in
 others, would, by Experience in affairs, and Con-
 versation amongst men, both of which most of them
 wanted, be in time wrought off, or, in a new Suc-
 cession, reformed, and so thought the vast advan-
 tage from their Learning, and Integrity, an ample
 recompence for any inconveniency from their Pas-
 sion; and yet by the prodigious Impiety of those
 times, the latter was only looked on with malice
 and revenge, without any reverence, or gratitude
 for the former.

When the King found himself possessed of all that
 Tranquillity mentioned before, that he had no rea-
 son to apprehend any Enemies from abroad, and
 less any Insurrections at home, against which no
 Kingdom in *Christendom*, in the constitution of its
 Government, in the solidity of the Laws, and in
 the nature and disposition of the People, was more
 Secure than *England*; that He might take a nearer
 view of those great Blessings which God had poured
 upon him, he resolved to make a Progress into the
 Northern parts of his Kingdom, and to be solemnly
 Crowned in his Kingdom of *Scotland*, which he
 had never seen from the time he had first left it,
 when he was about two years old. In order to this
 Journey, which was made with great Splendor,
 and proportionable Expence, he added to the Train
 of his Court many of the greatest Nobility, who
 increased the Pomp of the Court at their own charge
 (for so they were required to do) and seemed with

The King's
 first journey
 into Scotland
 to be Crowned
 there

B O O K I. alacrity to submit to the King's pleasure, as soon as they knew his desire; and so his Attendance in all respects was proportionable to the Glory of the greatest King.

This whole Progress was made from the first setting out, to the end of it, with the greatest Magnificence imaginable; and the highest excess of Feasting was then introduced, or, at least, Feasting was then carried to a height it never had attained before, from whence it hardly declined afterwards, to the great damage and mischief of the Nation in their Estates, and Manners. All Persons of Quality and Condition, who lived within distance of the Northern Road, received the great persons of the Nobility with that Hospitality which became them; in which all cost was employed to make their Entertainments splendid, and their Houses capable of those entertainments. The King himself met with many entertainments of that nature, at the charge of particular Men, who desired the honor of his Presence, which had been rarely practised till then by the Persons of the best Condition, though it hath since grown into a very inconvenient custom. But when he passed through *Nottinghamshire*, both King and Court were received, and entertained by the Earl of *Newcastle*, and at his own proper expense, in such a wonderful manner, and in such an excess of Feasting, as had scarce ever before been known in *England*; and would be still thought very prodigious, if the same noble Person had not, within a year or two afterwards, made the King and Queen a more stupendous Enter-

tainment; which (God be thanked) though possibly B O O K
it might too much whet the appetite of others to I.
Excess, no man ever after in those days Imitated.

The great Offices of the Court, and principal places of Attendance upon the King's person, were then upon the matter equally divided between the *English* and the *Scots*; the Marquis of *Hamilton* Master of the Horse, and the Earl of *Carlisle* first Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and almost all the second rank of Servants in that place, being of that Kingdom; so that there was as it were an Emulation between the two Nations, which should appear in the greatest Lustre, in Clothes, Horses, and Attendance: and as there were (as is said before) many of the principal Nobility of *England*, who attended upon the King, and who were not of the Court; so the Court was never without many *Scottish* Volunteers, and their number was well increased upon this occasion in Nobility and Gentry; who were resolved to confute all those who had believed their Country to be very poor.

The King no sooner entered *Scotland*, but all his *English* Servants and Officers yielded up their Attendance to those of the *Scottish* Nation, who were admitted into the same Offices in *Scotland*, or had some Titles to those Employments by the constitution of that Kingdom; as most of the great Offices are held by Inheritance; as the Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox* was then high Steward, and high Admiral of *Scotland* by Descent, as Others had the like possession of other Places; so that all the Tables of the House, which had been kept by the

The King's
Magnificent
Reception
there:

B O O K *English* Officers, were laid down, and taken up
I. again by the *Scots*, who kept them up with the same order, and equal splendor, and treated the *English* with all the freedom and courtesy imaginable; as all the Nobility of that Nation did, at their own expense, where their Offices did not entitle them to Tables at the charge of the Crown, keep very noble Houses to entertain their new Guests; who had so often, and so well entertained them: and it cannot be denied, the whole behaviour of that Nation towards the *English* was as generous, and obliging as could be expected; and the King appeared with no less Lustre at *Edinburgh*, than at *White-Hall*; and in this Pomp his Coronation passed with all the Solemnity, and evidence of public Joy that could be expected, or that can be imagined; and the Parliament, then held, with no less demonstration of Duty, passed and presented those Acts which were prepared for them to the Royal Sceptre; in which were some Laws restraining the extravagant power of the Nobility, which, in many cases, they had long exercised, and the diminution whereof they took very heavily, though at that time they took little notice of it; the King being absolutely advised in all the Affairs of that Kingdom then, and long before, and after, by the sole counsel of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who was, or at least, was then believed to be of the greatest Interest of any Subject in that Kingdom, of whom more will be said hereafter.

The King was very well pleased with his Reception, and with all the Transactions there; nor

indeed was there any thing to be blamed, but the luxury, and vast expence, which abounded in all respects of Feasting, and Clothes with too much licence: which being imputed to the commendable zeal of the People, of all conditions, to see their King amongst them, whom they were not like to see there again, and so their expence was to be but once made, no man had cause to suspect any mischief from it: and yet the Debts contracted at that time by the Nobility, and Gentry, and the Wants and Temptations they found themselves exposed to, from that unlimited Expence, did very much contribute to the kindling that Fire, which shortly after broke out in so terrible a combustion: nor were the sparks of Murmur and Sedition then so well covered, but that many discerning men discovered very pernicious Designs to lurk in Their breasts, who seemed to have the most cheerful Countenances, and who acted great parts in the Pomp, and Triumph. And it evidently appeared, that They of that Nation, who Shined most in the Court of *England*, had the least Influence in their own Country, except only the Marquis of *Hamilton*, whose affection to his Master was even then suspected by the wisest men in both Kingdoms; and that the immense Bounties the King, and his Father had scattered amongst those of that Nation, out of the Wealth of *England*, besides that he had sacrificed the whole Revenue of that Kingdom to Themselves, were not looked upon as any benefit to that Nation, but as obligations cast away upon particular Men; many of whom had with it wasted their own Patrimony in their Country.

B O O K
I.

Yet the Seeds
of the suc-
ceeding Com-
motions then
sown.

B O O K
I.

The King himself observed many of the Nobility to endeavour to make themselves popular by speaking in Parliament against those things which were most grateful to his Majesty, and which still Passed notwithstanding their contradiction; and he thought a little Discountenance upon those Persons would either suppress that Spirit within themselves, or make the Poison of it less operative upon others. But as those acts of Discountenance were too often believed to proceed from the displeasure of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and by that means rather advanced, than depressed them, so they had an admirable dexterity in sheltering themselves from any of those Acts of discountenance, which they had no mind to own, when it hath been visible, and was then notorious, that many of the Persons then, as the Earl of *Rothes*, and others, of whom the King had the worst opinion, and from whom he purposely withheld any grace by never speaking to them, or taking notice of them in the Court, yet when the King was abroad in the Fields, or passing through Villages, when the greatest crowds of People flocked to see him, those Men would still be next him, and entertain him with some discourse, and pleasant relations, which the King's gentle disposition could not avoid, and which made those Persons to be generally believed to be most acceptable to his Majesty; upon which the Lord *Falkland* was wont to say, "that keeping
"of State was like committing Adultery, there must
"go Two to it:" for let the proudest or most formal Man resolve to keep what distance he will towards

others, a bold and confident man instantly demolishes that whole Machine, and gets within him, and even obliges him to his own Laws of conversation.

The King was always the most punctual observer of all Decency in his Devotion, and the strictest promoter of the Ceremonies of the Church, as believing in his Soul the Church of *England* to be instituted the nearest to the Practice of the Apostles, and the best for the propagation and advancement of Christian Religion, of any Church in the World: and on the other side, though no man was more averse from the *Romish* Church than He was, nor better understood the motives of their Separation from us, and Animosity against us, he had the highest dislike, and prejudice to that part of his own Subjects, who were against the Government established, and did always look upon them as a very dangerous, and seditious People; who would under pretence of Conscience, which kept them from submitting to the Spiritual Jurisdiction, take the first opportunity, they could find or make, to withdraw themselves from their Temporal Subjection; and therefore he had, with the utmost vigilance, caused that Temper and Disposition to be watched and provided against in *England*; and if it were then in truth there, it lurked with wonderful secrecy. In *Scotland* indeed it covered the whole Nation, so that, though there were Bishops in Name, the whole Jurisdiction, and they Themselves were, upon the matter, subject to an Assembly, which was purely Presbyterian; no Form of Religion in practice, no Liturgy, nor

BOOK

I.

B O O K the least appearance of any Beauty of Holiness: The
 I. Clergy, for the most part, corrupted in their Principles; at least, none countenanced by the great Men, or favored by the People, but Such; though it must be owned their Universities, especially *Aberdeen*, flourished under many excellent Scholars, and very Learned men. Yet, though all the Cathedral Churches were totally neglected with reference to those Administrations, over the whole Kingdom, the King's own Chapel at *Holy-rood-house* had still been maintained with the comeliness of the Cathedral Service, and all other Decencies used in the Royal Chapel; and the whole Nation seemed, in the time of King *James*, well inclined to receive the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, which that King exceedingly desired, and was so confident of, that they who were Privy to his Counsels, in that time, did believe, the bringing that Work to pass was the principal end of his Progress thither some years before his death; though he was not so well satisfied at his being there, two or three of the principal Persons trusted by him in the Government of that Kingdom, dying in, or about that very time; but though he returned without making any visible attempt in that Affair, yet he retained still the purpose and resolution to his death to bring it to pass. However, his two or three last years having been less pleasant to him, by the Prince's voyage into *Spain*, the Jealousies which, about that time, begun in *England*, and the high Proceedings in Parliament there, he thought it necessary to suspend any prosecution of that Design, until a more favorable conjuncture, which he lived not to see.

The King his Son, who with his Father's other Virtues, inherited that Zeal for Religion, proposed nothing more to himself, than to Unite his three Kingdoms in one Form of God's Worship, and public Devotions; and there being now so great a Serenity in all his Dominions as is mentioned before, there is great reason to believe, that in this journey into *Scotland* to be Crowned, he carried with him the resolution to Finish that important business in the Church at the same time. To that end, the then Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Laud*, attended on his Majesty throughout that whole journey, which, as he was Dean of the Chapel, he was not obliged to do, and no doubt would have been excused from, if that Design had not been in view; to accomplish which he was no less solicitous than the King himself, nor the King the less solicitous for his Advice. He Preached in the Royal Chapel at *Edinburgh* (which scarce any *English* man had ever done before in the King's presence) and principally upon the benefit of Conformity, and the reverend Ceremonies of the Church, with all the marks of approbation and applause imaginable; the great civility of that People being so notorious, and universal, that they would not appear unconformable to his Majesty's wish in any particular. And many Wise Men were then, and still are of Opinion, that, if the King had Then proposed the Liturgy of the Church of *England* to have been received and practised by that Nation, it would have been submitted to without opposition: but, upon mature consideration, the King concluded that it was not a good Season to promote that Business.

B O O K
I.

Transactions
about intro-
ducing a Li-
turgy into
Scotland.

B O O K

I.

He had passed two or three Acts of Parliament, which had much lessened the Authority and Dependence of the Nobility, and great Men, and incensed, and disposed them proportionably to cross, and oppose any Proposition, which would be most grateful; and that overthwart humor was enough discovered to rule in the breasts of many, who made the greatest professions. Yet this was not the Obstruction which diverted the King: the Party that was averse from the thing, and abhorred any thought of Conformity, could not have been powerful enough to have stopped the progress of it; the mischief was, that They who most desired it, and were most concerned to promote it, were the Men who used all their credit to divert the Present attempting it; and the Bishops themselves, whose Interest was to be most advanced thereby, applied all their Counsels secretly to have the matter more Maturely considered; and the whole Design was never consulted but Privately, and only some few of the great Men of that Nation, and some of the Bishops advised with by the King, and the Bishop of *London*; it being manifest enough, that as the Finishing that great Affair must be very grateful to *England*, so the *English* must not appear to have a hand in the Contriving, and Promoting it.

The same Men, who did not only pretend, but really and heartily wish, that they might have a Liturgy to order, and regulate the Worship of God in their Churches, and did very well approve the Ceremonies established in the Church of *England*, and desired to submit to, and practice the same there,

had no mind that the Very Liturgy of the Church of *England* should be proposed to, or accepted by them; for which they offered two prudential Reasons, as their Observations upon the nature, and humor of the Nation, and upon the Conferences they had often had with the Best Men upon that Subject, which was often agitated in discourse, upon what had been formerly projected by King *James*, and upon what frequently occurred to Wise men in Discourses upon the thing itself, and the desirableness of it.

The First was, that the *English* Liturgy, how piously and wisely soever framed, and instituted, had found great Opposition: and though the matter of the Ceremonies had wrought for the most part only upon Light-headed, Weak Men, whose satisfaction was not to be labored for; yet there were many Grave, and Learned Men, who excepted against some Particulars, which would not be so easily answered; "That the reading Psalms being of the old Translation were in many particulars so different from the new and better Translation, that many instances might be given of importance to the Sense, and Truth of Scripture." They said somewhat of the same nature concerning the Translation of the Epistles, and Gospels, and some other Exceptions against reading the *Apocrypha*, and some other Particulars of less moment; and desired "that in forming a Liturgy for Their Church, they might, by reforming those several Instances, give satisfaction to Good Men, who would thereupon be easily induced to submit to it."

B O O K

I.

The other Reason, which no doubt was the principal, and took this in the way to give it the better introduction, was, “ that the Kingdom of *Scotland* “ generally had been long Jealous, that by the King’s “ continued absence from them, they should by “ degrees be reduced to be but as a Province to “ *England*, and subject to their Laws, and Govern- “ ment, which they would never submit to; nor “ would any Man of Honor, who loved the King “ best, and respected *England* most, ever consent to “ bring that Dishonor upon his Country. If the “ very Liturgy, in the terms it is constituted, and “ practised in *England*, should be offered to them, “ it would kindle, and inflame that Jealousy, as the “ Prologue, and Introduction to that Design, and “ as the first Range of that Ladder, which should “ serve to mount over all their Customs, and Pri- “ vileges, and be opposed, and detested accord- “ ingly: whereas, if his Majesty would give order “ for the preparing of a Liturgy, with those few “ desirable Alterations, it would easily be done; “ and in the mean time They would so dispose the “ minds of the People for the reception of it, that they should even desire it.” This Expedient was so passionately, and vehemently urged even by the Bishops, that however they deferred to the minds, and humors of other Men, it was manifest enough, that the Exception, and Advice proceeded from the pride of their own hearts.

The Bishop of *London*, who was always present with the King at these Debates, was exceedingly troubled at this Delay, and to find those Men the Instru-

Instruments in it, who seemed to him as Solicitous for the expedition, as Zealous for the thing itself, and who could not but Suffer by the deferring it. He knew well how far any Enemies to Conformity would be from being satisfied with those small Alterations, which being consented to, they would with more confidence, though less reason, frame other Exceptions, and insist upon them with more obstinacy. He foresaw the Difficulties which would arise in rejecting, or altering, or adding to the Liturgy, which had so great Authority, and had, by the practice of near fourscore years, obtained great Veneration from all sober Protestants; and how much easier it would be to make Objections against any thing that should be New, than against the Old; and would therefore have been very glad that the former Resolution might be pursued; there having never been any thoughts in the time of King *James*, or the present King, but of the *English* Liturgy; besides that any Variation from it, in how small matters soever, would make the Uniformity the less, the Manifestation whereof was that which was most aimed at, and desired.

The King had exceedingly set his heart upon the matter, and was as much scandalized as any Man at the disorder, and Indecency in the exercise of Religion in that Church: yet he was affected with what was offered for a little Delay in the execution, and knew more of the ill humor, and practices amongst the Greatest Men of the Kingdom at that season, than the Bishop did, and believed he could better compose, and reduce them in a little time,

B O O K and at a distance, than at the present, and whilst he
 I. was amongst them. Besides he was in his nature much inclined to the *Scottish* Nation, having been born amongst them, and as Jealous, as any one of Them could be, of their Liberties and Privileges, and as Careful they might not be Invaded by the *English*, who, he knew, had no great reverence for them: and therefore the Objection, "that it would look like an Imposition from *England*, if a Form, settled in Parliament at *Westminster*, should without any Alteration be tendered (though by Himself) to be submitted to, and observed in *Scotland*," made a deep Impression in his Majesty.

In a word, he committed the Framing, and Composing such a Liturgy, as would most probably be Acceptable to that People, to a select number of the Bishops there, who were very able and willing to undertake it: and so his Majesty returned into *England*, at the time he had designed, without having ever proposed, or made the least approach in Public, towards any Alteration in the Church.

It had been very happy, if there had been then nothing done indeed, that had any reference to that Affair, and that, since it was not ready, nothing had been transacted to promote it, which accidentally alienated the affections of the People from it; and what was done, was imputed to the Bishop of *London*, who was like enough to be guilty of it; since he did really believe, that nothing more contributed to the benefit, and advancement of the Church, than the promotion of Church-men to places of the greatest Honor, and Offices of the

highest Trust : This Opinion , and the Prosecution of it (though his Integrity was unquestionable, and his Zeal as great for the good and honor of the State, as for the advancement and security of the Church) was the unhappy Foundation of his own Ruin, and of the Prejudice towards the Church , the malice against it , and almost the Destruction of it.

During the King's stay in *Scotland* , when he found the conjuncture not yet ripe for perfecting that good Order , which he intended in the Church , he resolved to leave a Monument behind him of his own Affection and Esteem of it. *Edinburgh* though the Metropolis of the Kingdom , and the chief Seat of the King's own Residence , and the Place where the Council of State and the Courts of Justice still remained , was but a Borough Town within the Diocese of the Arch-Bishop of *Saint Andrews* , and governed in all Church-affairs by the Preachers of the Town ; who , being chosen by the Citizens from the time of Mr. *Knox* (who had a principal hand in the Suppression of Popery , with circumstances not very commendable to this day) had been the most turbulent , and seditious Ministers of Confusion , that could be found in the Kingdom ; of which King *James* had so sad experience, after he came to age , as well as in his minority , that he would often say , “ that his access to the Crown of *England* was “ the more valuable to him, as it redeemed him from “ the subjection to the ill manners , and insolent “ practices of those Preachers , which he could never shake off before.” The King before his return from thence , with the full consent , and approbation

The King during his stay there erects the Bishopric of *Edinburgh*.

B O O K of the Arch-Bishop of *Saint Andrews*, erected *Edinburgh* into a Bishopric; assigned it a good and convenient Jurisdiction out of the nearest limits of the Diocese of *Saint Andrews*, appointed the fairest Church in the Town to be the Cathedral, settled a competent Revenue upon the Bishop out of the Lands purchased by his Majesty himself from the Duke of *Lenox* who sold it much the cheaper, that it might be consecrated to so Pious an end; and placed a very eminent Scholar of a good Family in the Kingdom, who had been educated in the University of *Cambridge*, to be the first Bishop in that his new City; and made another Person, of good Fame, and Learning, the first Dean of his new Cathedral, upon whom likewise he settled a proper Maintenance; hoping by this means the better to prepare the People of the Place, who were the most numerous, and richest of the Kingdom, to have a due reverence to Order, and Government, and, at least, to discountenance, if not suppress the Factionous Spirit of Presbytery, which had so long ruled there. But this Application little contributed thereunto: the People generally thought, that they had too many Bishops before, and so the increasing the number was not like to be very grateful to them.

The Bishops had indeed very little Interest in the affections of that Nation, and less Authority over it; they had not power to Reform, or Regulate their own Cathedrals, and very rarely showed themselves in the Habit, and Robes of Bishops; and durst not contest with the General Assembly in matters of Jurisdiction: so that there was little more than the

Name of Episcopacy preserved in that Church. To B O O K
redeem them from that Contempt, and to show I.
that they should be Considerable in the State, how
little Authority soever they were permitted to have His Majesty
in the Church, the King made the Arch-Bishop of prefers some
Saint Andrews, a Learned, Wise, and Pious man, Bishops in
and of long Experience, Chancellor of the King. Scotland to
Secular offi-
ces unseason-
ably.
dom (the greatest Office, and which had never been
in the hands of a Church-man since the Reforma-
tion of Religion, and Suppressing the Pope's Au-
thority) and four or five other Bishops of the Privy-
Council, or Lords of the Session; which his Majesty
presumed, by their Power in the Civil Government,
and in the Judicatories of Kingdom, would render
them so much the more Reverenced, and the better
enable them to Settle the affairs of the Church: which
fell out otherwise too; and it had been better that
invidious Promotion had been suspended, till by
their grave and pious deportment they had wrought
upon their Clergy to be better disposed to obey
them, and upon the People to like order, and dis-
cipline; and till by these means the Liturgy had been
settled, and received amongst them; and then the
advancing some of them to greater Honor, might
have done well.

But this unseasonable accumulation of so many
Honors upon them, to which their Functions did
not entitle them (no Bishop having been so much as
a Privy-Counsellor in very many years) exposed
them to the universal Envy of the whole Nobility,
many whereof wished them well, as to their Eccle-
siastical qualifications, but could not endure to see

B O O K them possessed of those Offices, and Employments,
I. which they looked upon as naturally belonging to
 Themselves; and then the number of them was
 thought too great, so that they Overbalanced many
 Debates; and some of them by want of temper,
 or want of breeding, did not behave themselves
 with that Decency in their Debates, towards the
 greatest Men of the Kingdom. as in discretion they
 ought to have done, and as the others reasonably
 expected from them: so that instead of bringing any
 Advantage to the Church, or facilitating the good
 Intentions of the King in settling Order, and Govern-
 ment, it produced a more general Prejudice to it;
 though for the present there appeared no sign of
 Discontent, or ill Will to them. and the King left
Scotland, as he believed, full of affection, and Duty
 to him, and well inclined to receive a Liturgy, when
 he should think it seasonable to commend it to them.

The King's
 return, and
 the Death of
 Arch-Bishop
 Abbot,
 1633: his
 Character.

It was about the end of *August* in the Year 1633,
 when the King returned from *Scotland* to *Greenwich*;
 where the Queen kept her Court; and the first Ac-
 cident of moment, that happened after his coming
 thither, was the Death of *Abbot* Arch-Bishop of
Canterbury; who had sat too many years in that
 See, and had too great a Jurisdiction over the Church,
 though he was without any Credit in the Court from
 the death of King *James*, and had not much in many
 years before. He had been Head, or Master of one
 of the poorest Colleges in *Oxford*; and had Learning
 sufficient for that Province. He was a man of very
 morose manners, and a very sour aspect, which, in
 that time, was called Gravity; and under the opi-

nion of that Virtue, and by the recommendation of the Earl of *Dunbar*, the King's first *Scotch* Favorite, he was preferred by King *James* to the Bishopric of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, and presently after to *London*, before he had been Parson, Vicar, or Curate of any Parish-Church in *England*, or Dean, or Prebend of any Cathedral-Church; and was in truth totally ignorant of the true Constitution of the Church of *England*, and the State and Interest of the Clergy; as sufficiently appeared throughout the whole course of his life afterward.

He had scarce performed any part of the office of a Bishop in the Diocese of *London*, when he was snatched from thence, and promoted to *Canterbury*, upon the never enough lamented death of Dr. *Bancroft*, that Metropolitan, who understood the Church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the hands of the *Calvinian* Party, and very much subdued the unruly Spirit of the Non-conformists, by, and after the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, countenanced men of the greatest parts in Learning, and disposed the Clergy to a more solid course of Study, than they had been accustomed to; and, if he had lived, would quickly have extinguished all that Fire in *England*, which had been kindled at *Geneva*; or if he had been succeeded by Bishop *Andrews*, Bishop *Overal*, or any man, who understood, and loved the Church, that Infection would easily have been kept out, which could not afterwards be so easily expelled.

But *Abbot* brought none of this Antidote with him, and considered Christian Religion no other-

B O O K I. wife, than as it abhorred, and reviled Popery, and valued those men most, who did That the most furiously. For the strict observation of the Discipline of the Church, or the conformity to the Articles, or Canons established, he made little inquiry, and took less care; and having himself made a very little progress in the Ancient, and Solid study of Divinity, he adhered only to the Doctrine of *Calvin*, and, for his sake, did not think so ill of the Discipline as he ought to have done. But if men prudently forbore a public reviling, and railing at the Hierarchy, and Ecclesiastical Government, let their opinions, and private practice be what it would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but acceptable to him, and, at least, equally preferred by him. And though many other Bishops plainly discerned the Mischiefs, which daily broke in to the Prejudice of Religion, by his defects and remissness, and prevented it in their own Dioceses as much as they could, and gave all their countenance to men of other Parts, and other Principles; and though the Bishop of *London* Dr. *Laud*, from the time of his Authority and Credit with the King had applied all the Remedies he could to those Defections. and, from the time of his being Chancellor of *Oxford*, had much discountenanced, and almost suppressed that Spirit, by encouraging another kind of Learning, and Practice in that University, which was indeed according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; yet that temper in the Arch-Bishop, whose House was a Sanctuary to the most eminent of that Factious Party, and who Licensed their most

Pernicious Writings, left his Successor a very difficult work to do, to Reform, and reduce a Church into Order, that had been so long neglected, and that was so ill filled by many weak, and more wilful Church-men.

B O O K
I.

It was within one week after the King's return from *Scotland*, that *Abbot* died at his House at *Lambeth*. The King took very little time to consider who should be his Successor, but the very next time the Bishop of *London* (who was longer on his way home than the King had been) came to him, his Majesty entertained him very chearfully with this Compellation, *My Lord's Grace of Canterbury, you are very welcome*, and gave order the same day for the despatch of all the necessary forms for the Translation: so that within a month or thereabouts after the death of the other Arch-Bishop, he was completely invested in that high Dignity, and settled in his Palace at *Lambeth*. This great Prelate had been before in great favor with the Duke of *Buckingham*, whose chief Confident he was, and by him recommended to the King, as fittest to be trusted in the conferring all Ecclesiastical Preferments, when he was but Bishop of *Saint Davids*, or newly preferred to *Bath* and *Wells*; and from that time he entirely governed that province, without a rival: so that his promotion to *Canterbury* was long foreseen, and expected; nor was it attended with any increase of envy, or dislike.

Bishop Laud
made Arch-
Bishop: his
Character.

He was a man of great Parts, and very exemplary Virtues, allayed and discredited by some unpopular natural Infirmities; the greatest of which was (besides a hasty, sharp way of expressing himself) that he

BOOK believed Innocence of heart, and Integrity of manners, was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through this world, in what Company soever he travelled, and through what Ways soever he was to pass: and sure never any man was better supplied with that Provision. He was born of honest Parents, who were well able to provide for his education in the Schools of Learning, from whence they sent him to *St. Johns College in Oxford*, the worst endowed at that time of any in that famous University. From a Scholar he became a Fellow, and then the President of the College, after he had received all the graces, and degrees (the Proctorship, and the Doctorship) could be obtained there. He was always maligned, and persecuted by those who were of the *Calvinian* Faction, which was then very powerful, and who, according to their usual maxim, and practice, call every man they do not love Papist; and under this senseless appellation, they created him many troubles, and vexations; and so far suppressed him, that though he was the King's Chaplain, and taken notice of for an excellent Preacher, and a Scholar of the most sublime Parts, he had not any Preferment to invite him to leave his poor College, which only gave him bread, till the vigor of his age was past: and when he was promoted by King *James*, it was but to a poor Bishopric in *Wales*, which was not so good a Support for a Bishop, as his College was for a private Scholar, though a Doctor.

Parliaments in that time were frequent, and grew very busy, and the Party, under which he had suffered a continual Persecution, appeared very

powerful, and full of design, and They who had the courage to Oppose them, begun to be taken notice of with approbation, and countenance : under this Style he came to be first cherished by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had made some experiments of the temper, and spirit of the Other people, nothing to his satisfaction. From this time he prospered at the rate of his own wishes, and being transplanted out of his cold barren Diocese of *Saint Davids*, into a warmer Climate, he was left, as was said before, by that great Favorite in that great Trust with the King; who was sufficiently indisposed towards the Persons, or the Principles of *Calvin's* Disciples.

When he came into great Authority, it may be, he retained too keen a memory of Those who had so unjustly, and uncharitably Persecuted him before; and I doubt, was so far transporred with the same Passions he had reason to complain of in his Adversaries, that, as they accused Him of Popery, because he had some doctrinal Opinions which they liked not, though they were nothing allied to Popery; so he entertained too much prejudice to some Persons, as if They were Enemies to the Discipline of the Church, because they concurred with *Calvin* in some doctrinal Points; when they abhorred his Discipline, and revered the Government of the Church, and prayed for the Peace of it with as much zeal, and fervency as any in the Kingdom; as they made manifest in their Lives; and in their Sufferings with it, and for it. He had, from his first entrance into the world, without any disguise, or dissimulation, declared his own

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I. opinion of that Classis of men, and, as soon as it was in his power, he did all he could to hinder the growth, and increase of that Faction, and to restrain Those who were inclined to it, from doing the mischief they desired to do. But his Power at Court could not enough qualify him to go through with that difficult Reformation, whilst he had a Superior in the Church, who, having the Reins in His hand, could Slacken them according to his own humor, and indiscretion; and was thought to be the more remiss, to irritate his choleric disposition. But when he had now the Primacy in his own hand, the King being inspired with the same Zeal, he thought he should be to blame, and have much to answer for, if he did not make haste to apply Remedies to those Diseases, which he saw would grow apace.

In the end of *September*, of the year 1633, he was invested in the Title, Power, and Jurisdiction of Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and entirely in possession of the Revenue thereof, without a Rival in Church or State; that is, no man Professed to oppose his Greatness; and he had never interposed or appeared in Matters of State to this time. His first Care was, that the Place he was removed from, might be supplied with a Man who would be vigilant to pull up those Weeds, which the *London* Soil was too apt to nourish, and so drew his old Friend and Companion Dr. *Juxon* as near to him as he could. They had been Fellows together in one College in *Oxford*, and, when he was first made Bishop of *Saint Davids*, he made him

Dr. Juxon
made Bishop
of London.

President of that College: when he could no longer keep the Deanry of the Chapel-Royal, he made him his Successor in that near Attendance upon the King: and now he was raised to be Archbishop, he easily prevailed with the King to make the Other, Bishop of *London*, before, or very soon after he had been Consecrated Bishop of *Hereford*, if he were more than Elect of that Church. B O O K I.

It was now a time of great Ease and Tranquillity; the King (as hath been said before) had made himself Superior to all those Difficulties and Streights he had to contend with the four first years he came to the Crown at Home; and was now Reverenced by all his Neighbours, who needed his Friendship, and desired to have it; the Wealth of the Kingdom notorious to all the World, and the general Temper, and Humor of it, little inclined to the Papist, and less to the Puritan. There were some late Taxes and Impositions introduced, which rather angered than grieved the People, who were more than repaired by the Quiet, Peace, and Prosperity they enjoyed; and the Murmur and Discontent that was, appeared to be against the Excess of Power exercised by the Crown, and supported by the Judges in *Westminster-Hall*. The Church was not repined at, nor the least inclination to alter the Government, and Discipline thereof, or to change the Doctrine. Nor was there at that time any considerable number of Persons of any valuable Condition throughout the Kingdom, who did wish either; and the cause of so prodigious a Change in so few years after was too vi-

B O O K fible from the effects. The Arch-bishop's heart
 I. was set upon the advancement of the Church, in which he well knew he had the King's full Concurrence, which he thought would be too powerful for any opposition; and that he should need no other assistance.

Warm Contentions concerning those called the Arminian Points.

Though the Nation generally, as was said before, was without any ill Talent to the Church, either in the point of the Doctrine, or the Discipline, yet they were not without a jealousy that Popery was not enough discountenanced, and were very averse from admitting any thing they had not been used to, which they called Innovation, and were easily persuaded, that any thing of that kind was but to please the Papists. Some doctrinal Points in Controversy had been, in the late years, agitated in the Pulpits with more warmth and reflections, than had used to be; and thence the heat, and animosity increased in Books *Pro* and *Con* upon the same Arguments: most of the popular Preachers, who had not looked into the Ancient Learning, took *Calvin's* word for it, and did all they could to propagate his Opinions in those Points: They who had studied more, and were better versed in the Antiquities of the Church, the Fathers, the Councils, and the Ecclesiastical Histories, with the same heat and passion in Preaching and Writing, defended the contrary.

But because in the late Dispute in the *Dutch* Churches, those Opinions were supported by *Jacobus Arminius*, the Divinity Professor in the University of *Leyden* in *Holland*, the latter Men we men-

tioned, were called *Arminians*; though many of them had never read a word written by *Arminius*. BOOK
I.

Either side defended, and maintained the different Opinions as the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, as the two great Orders in the Church of *Rome*, the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, did at the same time, and had many hundred years before, with more vehemence and uncharitableness, maintained the same Opinions one against the other; either Party professing to adhere to the Doctrine of the Catholic Church, which had been ever wiser than to Determine the Controversy. And yet that Party here, which could least support themselves with Reason, were very solicitous, according to the Ingenuity they always practice to advance any of their Pretences, to have the People believe, that they who held with *Arminius* did intend to introduce Popery; and truly the other Side was no less willing to have it thought, that all who adhered to *Calvin* in those Controversies, did in their Hearts likewise adhere to him with reference to the Discipline, and desired to change the Government of the Church, destroy the Bishops, and to set up the Discipline that he had established at *Geneva*; and so both Sides found such reception generally with the People, as they were inclined to the Persons; whereas, in truth none of the one Side were at all inclined to Popery, and very many of the Other were most affectionate to the Peace and Prosperity of the Church, and very Pious, and Learned Men.

The Arch-bishop had, all his life, eminently opposed *Calvin's* Doctrine in those Controversies, be- Arch-Bishop
Laud's cha-

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racter conti-
nued.

fore the name of *Arminius* was taken notice of, or his Opinions heard of, and thereupon for want of another Name, they had called him a Papist, which no body believed him to be, and he had more manifested the contrary in his Disputations, and Writings, than most Men had done; and it may be the Other found the more severe, and rigorous Usage from him, for their propagating that Calumny against him. He was a man of great Courage and Resolution, and being most assured within himself, that he proposed no end in all his actions and designs, but what was Pious and Just (as sure no man had ever a heart more entire to the King, the Church, or his Country) he never studied the easiest ways to those ends; he thought, it may be, that any art or industry that way would discredit, at least make the Integrity of the end suspected, let the cause be what it will. He did court Persons too little; nor cared to make his designs, and purposes, appear as candid as they were, by showing them in any other dress than their own natural beauty, though perhaps in too rough a manner; and did not consider enough what men said, or were like to say of him. If the Faults, and Vices were fit to be looked into, and discovered, let the Persons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were sure to find no connivance or Favor from him. He intended the Discipline of the Church should be felt, as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid Transgressors, as well as to the punishment of smaller Offences, and meaner offenders, and thereupon called for, or cherished the discovery of Those who were not careful to cover their

own

own Iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other Men, or their Power, or Will to chastise. Persons of Honor, and great Quality, of the Court, and of the Country, were every day cited into the High-Commission-Court, upon the fame of their Incontinence, or other Scandal in their lives, and were there prosecuted to their Shame, and Punishment: and as the Shame (which they called an Insolent Triumph upon their Degree and Quality, and levelling Them with the common People) was never forgotten, but watched for revenge; so the Fines imposed there were the more questioned, and repined against; because they were assigned to the rebuilding, and repairing *St. Paul's Church*; and thought therefore to be the more Severely imposed, and the less Compassionately reduced and excused: which likewise made the jurisdiction and rigor of the Star-Chamber more felt, and murmured against, and sharpened many men's humors against the Bishops, before they had any ill Intention towards the Church.

There were three Persons most notorious for their declared Malice against the Government of the Church by Bishops, in their several Books, and Writings, which they had published to Corrupt the People, with circumstances very Scandalous, and in a language very Scurrilous and Impudent; which all Men thought deserved very exemplary Punishment: They were of the three several Professions which had the most influence upon the People, a Divine, a Common Lawyer, and a Doctor of Physic; none of them of interest, or any esteem with the worthy part of their several Profes-

Pryn, Burton,
and
Bastwick

B O O K fions, having been formerly all looked upon under
 I. Characters of Reproach: yet when they were all
 Sentenced, and for the execution of that Sentence
 brought out to be Punished as common, and signal
 Rogues, exposed upon Scaffolds to have their Ears
 cut off, and their Faces and Foreheads branded with
 hot Irons (as the poorest, and most mechanic Ma-
 lefactors used to be, when they were not able to re-
 deem themselves by any Fine for their Trespases,
 or to satisfy any damages for the Scandals they had
 raised against the good name, and reputation of
 others) Men begun no more to consider their Man-
 ners, but the Men; and each Profession, with
 anger and indignation enough, thought their Edu-
 cation, and Degrees, and Quality, would have se-
 cured them from such Infamous Judgments, and
 treasured up Wrath for the time to come.

The remissness of *Abbot* and of other Bishops by
 his example, had introduced, or at least connived,
 at a Negligence, that gave great scandal to the
 Church, and no doubt offended very many Pious
 men. The People took so little care of the Church-
 es, and the Parsons as little of the Chancels, that,
 instead of Beautying, or Adorning them in any de-
 gree, they rarely provided against the falling of many
 of their Churches; and suffered them at least to be
 kept so indecently, and slovenly, that they would
 not have endured it in the ordinary offices of their
 own Houses; the Rain and the Wind to infect them;
 and the Sacraments themselves to be Administered
 where the People had most mind to receive them.
 This Profane liberty and uncleanness, the Arch-
 Bishop resolved to Reform with all expedition, re-

quiring the other Bishops to Concur with him in so Pious a work ; and the work sure was very grateful to all Men of Devotion : yet , I know not how , the Prosecution of it with too much affectation of Expence , it may be , or with too much Passion between the Ministers and the Parishioners , raised an evil Spirit towards the Church , which the Enemies of it took much advantage of , as soon as they had an opportunity to make the worst use of it.

The removing the Communion-Table out of the body of the Church , where it had used to stand , and to be applied to all uses , and fixing it to one place in the upper end of the Chancel , which frequently made the buying a new Table to be necessary ; the inclosing it with a Rail of Joiner's work , and thereby fencing it from the approach of Dogs , and all Servile uses ; the obliging all Persons to come up to those Rails to receive the Sacrament , how acceptable soever to grave and intelligent Persons , who loved Order and Decency (for acceptable it was to such) yet introduced first Murmurings amongst the People (upon the very Charge and Expence of it) and if the Minister were not a man of discretion and reputation to Compose , and Reconcile those Indispositions (as too frequently he was not , and rather inflamed , and increased the Distemper) it begot Suits , and Appeals at Law. The opinion that there was no Necessity of doing any thing , and the complaint that there was too Much done , brought the Power and Jurisdiction that imposed the doing of it , to be called in question , contradicted , and opposed. Then the manner , and gesture , and posture , in the Celebra-

B O O K tion of it, brought in new Disputes, and administered
I. new subjects of Offence, according to the custom of the Place, and humor of the People: and those Disputes brought in new words and terms (Altar, Adoration, and Genuflexion, and other expressions) for the more perspicuous carrying on those Disputations. New Books were written for, and against this new Practice, with the same earnestness, and contention for Victory, as if the Life of Christianity had been at stake. Besides, there was not an equal Concurrence, in the prosecution of this matter, amongst the Bishops themselves; some of them proceeding more remissly in it, and some not only neglecting to direct any thing to be done towards it, but restraining those who had a mind to it, from meddling in it. And this again produced as inconvenient Disputes, when the Subordinate Clergy would take upon them, not only without the direction of their Diocesans, but expressly against their Injunctions, to make those Alterations and Reformations themselves, and by their own Authority.

The Arch-Bishop guided purely by his Zeal, and Reverence for the Place of God's Service, and by the Canons, and Injunctions of the Church, with the custom observed in the King's Chapel, and in most Cathedral Churches, without considering the long intermission, and discontinuance, in many other Places, prosecuted this Affair more Passionately than was fit for the Season, and had Prejudice against Those, who out of fear, or foresight, or not understanding the Thing, had not the same Warmth to promote it. The Bishops who had been preferred by his

Flavor, or hoped to be so, were at least as Solicitous to bring it to pass in their several Dioceses; and some of them with more Passion, and less Circumspection, than they had his Example for, or than he Approved; prosecuting those who opposed them, very Fiercely, and sometimes Unwarrantably, which was kept in Remembrance. Whilst other Bishops, not so many in number, or so valuable in weight, who had not been beholding to him, nor had hope of being so, were enough contented to give Perfunctory orders for the doing it, and to see the Execution of those Orders not minded; and not the less pleased to find, that the prejudice of that whole Transaction reflected solely upon the Arch-Bishop.

The Bishop of *Lincoln* (*Williams*) who had heretofore been Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and generally unacceptable whilst he held that Office, was, since his disgrace at Court, and prosecution from thence, become very Popular; and having several Faults objected to him, the Punishment whereof threatened him every day, he was very willing to change the Scene, and to be brought upon the Stage for opposing these Innovations (as he called them) in Religion. It was an unlucky word, and cozened very many honest Men into apprehensions very Prejudicial to the King, and to the Church. He Published a Discourse and Treatise against the matter, and manner of the Prosecution of that Business; a Book so full of good Learning, and that Learning so close, and solidly applied (though it abounded with too many light expressions) that it gained him reputation enough to be able to do Hurt; and showed that,

BOOK I. in his retirement, he had spent his time with his Books very profitably. He used all the Wit, and all the Malice he could, to awaken the People to a jealousy of these Agitations, and Innovations in the exercise of Religion; not without Insinuations that it aimed at greater Alterations, for which he knew the People would quickly find a name; and he was ambitious to have it believed, that the Arch-Bishop was his greatest Enemy, for his having constantly opposed his rising to any Government in the Church, as a man, whose hot and hasty Spirit he had long known.

Though there were other Books written with good learning, and which sufficiently answered the Bishop's book, and to men of equal, and dispassionate Inclinations, fully vindicated the Proceedings which had been, and were still very fervently carried on; yet it was done by Men whose names were not much revered, and who were taken notice of, with great insolence and asperity to undertake the Defence of all things which the People generally were Displeased with, and who did not affect to be much Cared for, by those of their own Order. So that from this unhappy Subject, not in itself of that important value to be either entered upon with that Resolution, or to be carried on with that Passion, proceeded upon the matter a Schism amongst the Bishops themselves, and a great deal of Uncharitableness in the learned, and moderate Clergy, towards one another: which, though it could not increase the malice, added very much to the ability and power of the Enemies of the Church to do it

hurt, and also to the number of them. For without doubt, many who loved the established Government of the Church, and the Exercise of Religion as it was used, and desired not a change in either, nor did dislike the order and decency, which they saw mended, yet they liked not any Novelties, and so were liable to entertain Jealousies that more was intended than was hitherto proposed; especially when those Infusions proceeded from Men unsuspected to have any inclinations to Change, and known Assertors of the Government both in Church and State. They did observe the Inferior Clergy took more upon them than they were wont, and did not live towards their Neighbours of Quality, or their Patrons themselves, with that Civility and Condescension, they had used to do; which disposed Them likewise to a withdrawing their good Countenance, and good Neighbourhood from them.

The Arch-Bishop had not been long in that Post, when there was another great alteration in the Court by the Death of the Earl of *Portland*, High Treasurer of *England*: a man so jealous of the Arch-Bishop's credit with the King, that he always endeavoured to lessen it by all the arts and ways he could; which he was so far from effecting, that, as it usually falls out, when passion and malice make Accusation, by suggesting many Particulars which the King knew to be Untrue, or believed to be no Faults, he rather confirmed his Majesty's judgment of him, and prejudiced his own reputation. His death caused no grief in the Arch-Bishop; who was, upon it, made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury,

Upon the
Earl of
Portland's
death the

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Arch Bishop
made one of
the Commis-
sioners of the
Treasury.

and Revenue, which he had reason to be sorry for, because it engaged him in Civil business, and matters of State, wherein he had little experience, and which he had hitherto avoided. But being obliged to it now by his Trust, he entered upon it with his natural earnestness and warmth, making it his principal care to advance, and improve the King's Revenue, by all the ways which were offered, and so hearkened to all Informations and Propositions of that kind; and having not had experience of that Tribe of people, who deal in that Traffic (a confident, senseless, and for the most part a naughty people) he was sometimes misled by them, to think better of some Projects than they deserved: but then he was so entirely devoted to what would be Beneficial to the King, that all Propositions and Designs, which were for the Profit (only or principally) of particular Persons how Great soever, were opposed, and crossed, and very often totally suppressed, and stifled in their birth, by his Power, and Authority; which created him Enemies enough in the Court, and many of Ability to do Mischief, who knew well how to recompense Discourtesies, which they always called Injuries.

The Revenue of too Many of the Court consisted principally in Enclosures, and Improvements of that nature, which He still opposed passionately, except they were founded upon Law; and then, if it would bring Profit to the King, how old and obsolete soever the Law was, he thought he might justly advise the Prosecution. And so he did a little too much countenance the Commission concerning Depopula-

tion, which brought much charge and trouble upon the People, and was likewise cast upon His account.

He had observed, and knew it must be so, that the Principal Officers of the Revenue, who governed the affairs of Money, had always access to the King, and spent more time with him in Private than any of his Servants, or Counsellors, and had thereby frequent opportunities to do Good, or ill offices to many men; of which He had had Experience, when the Earl of *Portland* was Treasurer, and the Lord *Cottington* Chancellor of the Exchequer; neither of them being his Friends; and the latter still enjoying his Place, and having his former Access, and so continuing a joint Commissioner of the Treasury with him, and understanding that Province much better, still Opposed, and commonly Carried every thing against him: so that he was Weary of the toil, and vexation of that Business; as all other men were, and still are, of the Delays which are in all despatches in that Office, whilst it is executed by Commission.

The Treasurer's is the greatest Office of Benefit in the Kingdom, and the Chief in Precedence next the Arch-Bishop's, and the Great Seal: so that the eyes of all men were at gaze who should have this great Office; and the greatest of the Nobility, who were in the chiefest Employments, looked upon it as the Prize of one of them; such Offices commonly making way for more Removes, and Preferments: when on a sudden the Staff was put into the hands of the Bishop of *London*, a man so unknown, that his Name was scarce heard of in the Kingdom, who

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Bishop Juxon
made Lord
Treasurer.

B O O K had been, within two years before, but a private
L Chaplain to the King, and the President of a poor College in *Oxford*. This Inflamed more men than were Angry before, and no doubt did not only sharpen the edge of Envy and Malice against the Arch-Bishop (who was the known Architect of this new Fabric) but most unjustly Indisposed many towards the Church itself; which they looked upon as the Gulph ready to swallow all the great Offices, there being Others in view, of that Robe, who were ambitious enough to expect the rest.

In the mean time the Arch-Bishop himself was infinitely pleased with what was done, and unhappily believed he had provided a stronger Support for the Church; and never abated any thing of his Severity, and Rigor towards men of all conditions; or in the Sharpness of his language, and expressions, which was so natural to him, that he could not debate any thing without some Commotion, when the Argument was not of moment, nor bear Contradiction in debate, even in the Council, where all men are equally free, with that Patience, and Temper that was necessary; of which, They who wished him not well, took many Advantages, and would therefore Contradict him, that he might be transported with some Indecent Passion; which, upon a short recollection, he was always Sorry for, and most readily, and heartily would make Acknowledgement. No man so willingly made unkind use of all those Occasions, as the Lord *Cottington*, who, being a master of Temper, and of the most profound

Diffimulation, knew too well how to lead him into a Mistake, and then drive him into Choler, and then Expose him upon the matter, and the manner, to the judgment of the Company; and he chose to do this most when the King was present; and then would Dine with him the next day.

The King, who was excessively affected to Hunting, and the Sports of the Field, had a great desire to make a great Park for Red, as well as Fallow Deer, between *Richmond* and *Hampton-Court*, where he had large Wastes of his own, and great parcels of Wood, which made it very fit for the use he designed it to: but as some Parishes had Commons in those Wastes, so, many Gentlemen, and Farmers, had good Houses, and good Farms intermingled with those Wastes of their own Inheritance, or for their Lives, or Years; and without taking of Them into the Park, it would not be of the largeness, or for the use proposed. His Majesty desired to purchase those Lands, and was very willing to buy them upon higher terms than the People could sell them at to any body else, if they had occasion to part with them; and thought it no unreasonable thing, upon those terms, to expect this from his subjects; and so he employed his own Surveyor, and other of his Officers, to treat with the Owners, many whereof were his own Tenants, whose Farms would at last expire.

The major part of the People were in a short time prevailed with, but many very obstinately

B O O K I. refused; and a Gentleman, who had the best Estate, with a convenient House, and Gardens, would by no means part with it; and the King being as earnest to compass it, it made a great noise, as if the King would take away men's Estates at his own pleasure. The Bishop of *London*, who was Treasurer, and the Lord *Cottington*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, were, from the first entering upon it, very averse from the Design, not only for the murmur of the People, but because the purchase of the Land, and the making a Brick-wall about so large a parcel of Ground (for it is near ten Miles about) would cost a greater Sum of money, than they could easily provide, or than they thought ought to be sacrificed to Such an occasion: and the Lord *Cottington* (who was more solicited by the Country-people, and heard most of their murmurs) took the Business most to heart, and endeavoured by all the ways he could, and by frequent importunities, to divert his Majesty from pursuing it, and put all delays, he could well do, in the bargains which were to be made; till the King grew very angry with him, and told him "he was resolved to go through with it, and had already caused Brick to be burned, and much of the Wall to be built upon his Own land:" upon which *Cottington* thought fit to acquiesce.

The building the Wall before People consented to part with their Land, or their Common, looked to them as if by degrees they should be Shut out from both, and increased the murmur and noise

of the People who were Not concerned, as well as of them who were: and it was too near *London* not to be the common discourse. The Arch-Bishop (who desired exceedingly that the King should be possessed as much of the Hearts of the People as was possible, at least that they should have no just cause to Complain) meeting with it, resolved to Speak with the King of it; which he did; and received such an Answer from him, that he thought his Majesty rather not informed enough of the Inconveniencies, and Mischiefs of the thing, than positively Resolved not to desist from it. Whereupon one day, he took the Lord *Cottington* aside (being informed that he disliked it, and, according to his natural custom, spake with great warmth against it) and told him, "he should do very well to give the King good Counsel, and to withdraw him from a Resolution, in which his Honor, and Justice was so much called in question." *Cottington* answered him very gravely, "that the thing designed was very Lawful, and he thought the King resolved very well, since the Place lay so conveniently for his Winter-exercise, and that he should by it not be compelled to make so long Journeys, as he used to do, in that Season of the year, for his Sport, and that no body ought to dissuade him from it."

The Arch-Bishop instead of finding a Concurrence from him, as he expected, seeing himself Reproached upon the matter for his Opinion, grew into much Passion, telling him, "Such men

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“ as he, would Ruin the King, and make him
“ lose the Affections of his Subjects ; that for his own
“ part, as he had begun, so he would go on to
“ dissuade the King from proceeding in so ill a
“ counsel, and that he hoped it would appear
“ who had been his Counsellor.” *Cottington* glad
to see him so soon hot, and resolved to inflame
him more, very calmly replied to him, “ that he
“ thought a man could not, with a good Con-
“ science, hinder the King from pursuing his Re-
“ solutions, and that it could not but proceed
“ from want of affection to his Person, and he
“ was not sure that it might not be high Treason.”
The other, upon the wildness of his discourse, in
great anger asked him, “ Why ? from whence he
“ had received that doctrine ?” he said, with the
same temper, “ They who did not wish the King’s
“ health, could not love him ; and they who went
“ about to hinder his taking recreation, which
“ preserved his health, might be thought, for
“ ought he knew, guilty of the highest Crimes.”
Upon which the Arch-Bishop in great rage, and
with many reproaches left him, and either presently,
or upon the next opportunity, told the King,
“ that he now knew who was his great Counsellor
“ for making his Park, and that he did not
“ wonder that men durst not represent any Argu-
“ ments to the contrary, or let his Majesty know
“ how much he Suffered in it, when such Prin-
“ ciples in Divinity, and Law, were laid down
“ to Terrify them ;” and so recounted to him the

Conference he had with the Lord *Cottington*, BOOK
I.
bitterly inveighing against him, and his Doctrine, mentioning him with all the sharp Reproaches imaginable, and beseeching his Majesty "that His counsel might not Prevail with him," taking some pains to make his Conclusions appear very false, and Ridiculous.

The King said no more, but, "My Lord, you are deceived, *Cottington* is too hard for you; upon my word he hath not only Dissuaded me more, and given more Reasons against this Business, than all the men in *England* have done, but hath really obstructed the Work by not doing his Duty, as I commanded him, for which I have been very much displeased with him: you see how Unjustly your Passion hath transported you." By which Reprehension he found how much he had been Abused, and Resented it accordingly.

Whatsoever was the Cause of it, this excellent Man, who stood not upon the advantage-ground before, from the time of his Promotion to the Arch-Bishopric, or rather from that of his being Commissioner of the Treasury, exceedingly provoked, or underwent the Envy, and Reproach, and Malice of Men of all Qualities, and Conditions; who agreed in nothing else: all which, though well enough Known to him, were not enough Considered by him, who believed, as most men did, the Government to be so firmly Settled, that it could neither be Shaken from within, nor

B O O K without, and that less than a general Confusion
I. of Law and Gospel, could not hurt him; which
 was true too; but he did not Foresee how easily
 that Confusion might be brought to pass, as it
 proved shortly to be. And with this general Obser-
 vation of the outward visible Prosperity, and the
 inward reserved disposition of the People to
 Murmur, and Unquietness, we Conclude this
 First Book.

THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.

B O O K II.

Pfal. LII. 2. 4.

*Thy Tongue deviseth Mischief, like a sharp Rasor,
working deceitfully:*

*Thou lovest all devouring words, O thou deceitful
Tongue.*

Pfal. LV. 21.

*The words of his Mouth were smother than Butter;
but War was in his Heart: his words were softer
than Oil, yet were they drawn Swords.*

IT was towards the end of the Year 1633, when the King returned from Scotland, having left it to the Care of some of the Bishops there to provide such a Liturgy, and such a Book of Canons, as might best suit the nature and humor of the Better sort of that People; to which the rest would easily submit: and that, as fast as they made them ready, they should transmit them to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, to whose assistance the King joined the Bishop of London, and Doctor Wren, who, by that time,

II.

Affairs in
Scotland after
the King's
return thence;
relating chiefly
to the compos-
ing a Liturgy
and Canons.

B O O K was become Bishop of *Norwich*; a Man of a severe, four nature, but very Learned, and particularly versed in the old Liturgies of the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches. And after his Majesty should be this way certified of what was so sent, he would recommend, and enjoin the Practice and Use of both to that his Native Kingdom, The Bishops there had somewhat to do, before they went about the preparing the Canons, and the Liturgy; what had passed at the King's being there in Parliament, had left bitter Inclinations, and unruly Spirits in many of the most Popular Nobility; who watched only for an opportunity to inflame the People, and were well enough contented to see Combustible matter every day gathered together, to contribute to that Fire.

The promoting so many Bishops to be of the Privy - Council, and to sit in the Courts of Justice, seemed at first wonderfully to facilitate all that was in design, and to create an Affection and Reverence towards the Church, at least an application to and dependance upon the greatest Churchmen. So that there seemed to be not only a good preparation made with the People, but a general expectation, and even a desire that they might have a Liturgy, and more Decency observed in the Church And this Temper was believed to be the more universal, because neither from any of the Nobility, nor of the Clergy, who were thought most averse from it, there appeared any sign of Contradiction, nor that licence of Language against it, as was natural to that Nation; but an entire Acquiescence in all the Bishops thought fit to do; which was interpreted to proceed

from a conversion in their Judgment, at least to a submission to Authority: whereas in truth, it appeared afterwards to be from the observation they made of the Temper, and Indiscretion of those Bishops in the greatest Authority, that they were like to have more Advantages administered to them by Their ill Managery, than they could raise by any Contrivance of their own.

It was now two Years, or very near so much, before the Bishops in *Scotland* had prepared any thing to offer to the King towards their intended Reformation; and then they Inverted the proper method, and first presented a body of Canons to precede the Liturgy, which was not yet ready, they chusing to finish the shorter work first. The King referred the consideration of the Canons, as he had before resolved to do, to the Arch-Bishop, and the other two Bishops formerly named, the Bishop of *London*, and the Bishop of *Norwich*; who, after their perusal of them, and some Alterations made with the consent of those Bishops who brought them from *Scotland*, returned them to the King; and his Majesty, impatient to see the good work entered upon, without any other Ceremoney (after having given his Royal approbation) issued out his Proclamation for the due Observation of them within his Kingdom of *Scotland*.

It was a fatal Inadvertency that these Canons, neither before, nor after they were sent to the King, had been ever Seen by the Assembly, or any Convocation of the Clergy, which was so strictly obliged to the Observation of them; nor so much as

B O O K
II.

Touching the
Scottish Ca-
nons.

B O O K II. Communicated to the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom; it being almost impossible that any new Discipline could be introduced into the Church, which would not Much concern the Government of the State, and even trench upon, or refer to the Municipal Laws of the Kingdom. And, in this consideration, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* had always declared to the Bishops of *Scotland*, “that it
 “ was Their part to be sure, that nothing they
 “ should propose to the King in the Business of the
 “ Church, should be contrary to the Laws of the
 “ Land, which He could not be thought to under-
 “ stand; and that they should never put any thing
 “ in execution, without the consent and approba-
 “ tion of the Privy-Council.” But it was the unhappy Craft of those Bishops to get it believed by the King, that the work would be Grateful to the most considerable of the Nobility, the Clergy, and the People (which they could hardly believe) in order to the obtaining his Majesty’s Approbation and Authority for the execution of that, which they did really believe would not find Opposition from the Nobility, Clergy, or People, against his Majesty’s exprefs Power, and Will, which without doubt was then in great Veneration in that Kingdom; and so they did not, in truth, dare to submit the Canons to any other Examination, than what the King should direct in *England*.

It was, in the next place, as strange, that Canons should be published before the Liturgy was prepared (which was not ready in a year after, or thereabouts) when three or four of the Canons were principally

for the Observation of, and punctual Compliance with the Liturgy ; which all the Clergy were to be sworn to submit to, and to pay all obedience to what was enjoined by it, before they knew what it contained. Whereas if the Liturgy had been first published with all due Circumstances, it is possible that it might have found a better reception, and the Canons have been less examined. B O O K II.

The *Scottish* Nation, how capable soever it was of being led by some Great Men, and misled by the Clergy, would have been corrupted by neither into a barefaced Rebellion against their King, whose Person they loved, and revered his Government; nor could they have been wrought upon towards the lessening the one, or the other, by any other Suggestions, or Insufions, than such as should make them jealous, or apprehensive of a design to introduce Popery; a great part of their Religion consisting in an entire detestation of Popery, in believing the Pope to be Antichrist, and hating perfectly the Persons of all Papists.

The Canons now published, besides (as hath been touched before) that they had passed no Approbation of the Clergy, or been Communicated to the Council, appeared to be so many new Laws imposed upon the whole Kingdom by the King's sole Authority, and contrived by a few Private Men, of whom they had no good opinion, and who were Strangers to the Nation; so that it was thought no other than a Subjection to *England*, by receiving Laws from thence, of which they were most jealous, and which they most passionately abhorred. Then

BOOK II. they were so far from being confined to the Church, and the matters of Religion. that they believed there was no part of their Civil Government uninvented by them, and no Persons of what Quality soever unconcerned, and, as they thought, unhurt in them. And there were some things in some particular Canons, how rational soever in themselves, and how distant soever in the words and expressions from inclining to Popery, which yet gave too much advantage to Those who maliciously watched the occasion, to persuade Weak Men that it was an Approach, and Introduction to that Religion, the very Imagination whereof Intoxicated all Men, and deprived them of all faculties to Examine, and Judge.

Some of the said Canons defined, and determined such an unlimited "Power, and Prerogative to be
 " in the King, according to the Pattern (in express
 " terms) of the Kings of *Israel*, and such a full
 " Supremacy in all Cases Ecclesiastical, as hath never
 " been pretended to by their former Kings, or sub-
 " mitted to by the Clergy, and Laity of that Nation;" which made impression upon Men of all tempers, humors, and inclinations; " And that no Ecclesiastical Person should become Surety, or Bound for
 " any Man; that National, or General Assemblies
 " should be called only by the King's Authority;
 " that all Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Persons,
 " who die without Children, should be obliged to
 " give a good part of their Estates to the Church,
 " and, though they should have Children, yet to
 " leave somewhat to the Church, and for advance-

“ment of Learning;” which seemed rather to be matter of State, and Policy, than of Religion; thwarted their Laws and Customs, which had been observed by them; lessened, if not took away the Credit of Church-men; and prohibited them from that liberty of Commerce in Civil Affairs, which the Laws permitted to them; and reflected upon the interests of Those who had, or might have a right to Inherit from Clergy-men. “That none should receive
 “the Sacrament but upon their Knees; that the
 “Clergy should have no private meetings for ex-
 “pounding Scripture, or for consulting upon
 “Matters Ecclesiastical; that no Man should cover
 “his head in the time of Divine Service; and that
 “no Clergy-man should conceive Prayers *ex tem-*
 “*pore*, but be bound to pray only by the Form
 “prescribed in the Liturgy” (which by the way was not seen nor framed) “and that no man should
 “teach a public School, or in a private House,
 “without a Licence first obtained from the Arch-
 “Bishop of the Province, or the Bishop of the
 “Diocese.”

All these were new, and things with which they had not been acquainted; and though they might be fit to be commended to a regular, and orderly People piously disposed, yet it was too strong meat for Infants in Discipline, and too much nourishment to be administered at Once to weak, and queasy Stomachs, and too much inclined to nauseate what was most wholesome. But then, to apply the old terms of the Church, to mention “the *Quatuor tempora*,
 “and restrain all Ordinations to those four Seasons of

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II.

“ the Year; to enjoin a Font to be prepared in
 “ every Church for Baptism, and a decent Table for
 “ the Communion; and to direct, and appoint the
 “ places where both Font and Table should stand,
 “ and decent Ornaments for either; to restrain any
 “ Excommunication from being pronounced, or
 “ Absolution from being given, without the ap-
 “ probation of the Bishop;” to mention any prac-
 tice of Confession (which they looked upon
 as the strongest, and most inseparable Limb of
 Antichrist) and to enjoin “that no Presbyter should
 “ reveal any thing he should receive in Confes-
 “ sion, except in such cases, where, by the Law
 “ of the Land, his own Life, should be Forfeited;”
 “ were all such matters of Innovation, and in their
 nature so Suspicious, that they thought they had
 reason to be Jealous of the worst that could fol-
 low; and the last Canon of all provided “that no
 “ Person should be received into Holy Orders, or
 “ suffered to Preach, or Administer the Sacraments,
 “ without first Subscribing to those Canons.”

It was now easy for Them who had those Inclina-
 tions, to suggest to Men of all conditions that here
 was an entire new Model of Government in Church
 and State; the King might do what he would upon
 them all, and the Church was nothing but what the
 Bishops would have it be: which they every day
 infused into the minds of the People, with all the
 Artifices which administer Jealousies of all kinds to
 those who are liable to be disquieted with them:
 yet they would not suffer (which showed wonderful
 power, and wonderful dexterity) any disorder to

break out upon all this occasion, but all was quiet, except spreading of Libels against the Bishops, and propagating that Spirit as much as they could, by their Correspondence in *England*; where they found too many every day transported by the same Insuffusions, in expectation that these Seeds of Jealousy from the Canons would grow apace, and produce such a Reception for the Liturgy as they wished for.

It was about the month of *July* in the Year 1637, that the Liturgy (after it had been sent out of *Scotland*, and perused by the three Bishops in *England*, and then approved and confirmed by the King) was Published, and appointed to be Read in all the Churches. And in this particular there was the same affected and premeditated Omission, as had been in the preparation and publication of the Canons; the Clergy not at all consulted in it, and, which was more strange, not all the Bishops acquainted with it; which was less censured afterwards, when some of them renounced their Function, and became ordinary Presbyters, as soon as they saw the current of the time. The Privy-Council had no other notice of it, than all the Kingdom had, the Sunday before, when it was declared, "that the next Sunday the Liturgy should be Read;" by which they were the less concerned to foresee, or prevent any Obstructions which might happen.

The Proclamation had appointed it to be Read the *Easter* before, but the Earl of *Traquaire* High Treasurer of *Scotland* (who was the only Counsellor or Layman relied upon by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* in that business) persuaded the King to defer

Touching the
Scottish Li-
turgy.

B O O K it till *July*, that some good preparation might be made for the more cheerful Reception of it. And as this pause gave the discontented Party more heart, and more time for their Seditious Negotiations, so the ill Consequences of it or the Actions which were subsequent to it, made Him suspected to be Privy to all the Conspiracy, and to be an Enemy to the Church; though in truth there neither appeared then, nor in all the very unfortunate part of his life afterwards, any just ground for that accusation, and suspicion; but as he was exceedingly obliged to the Arch Bishop, so he was a man of great Parts, and well affected to the Work in hand in his own judgement; and if he had been as much depended upon, to have advised the Bishops in the Prosecution, and for the Conduct of it, as he was to assist them in the carrying on whatsoever They proposed, it is very probable, that either so Much would not have been undertaken together, or that it would have Succeeded better; for he was without doubt not inferior to any of that Nation in Wisdom, and Dexterity. And though he was often provoked, by the Insolence of some of the Bishops, to a Dislike of their overmuch Fervor, and too little Discretion, his Integrity to the King was without blemish, and his Affection to the Church so notorious, that he never deserted it, till both It and He were over-run, and trod under foot; and they who were the most notorious Persecutors of It, never left Persecuting Him to the death.

Nor was any thing done which he had proposed, for the better Adjusting things in the time of that

Suspension, but every thing left in the same state of Unconcernedness as it was before; not so much as the Council's being better Informed of it; as if they had been sure that all men would have Submitted to it for Conscience sake.

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On the Sunday morning appointed for the work, the Chancellor of *Scotland*, and others of the Council, being present in the Cathedral Church, the Dean began to read the Liturgy, which he had no sooner entered upon, but a noise and a clamor was raised throughout the Church, that no words could be heard distinctly, and then a shower of Stones, and Sticks, and Cudgels were thrown at the Dean's head. The Bishop went up into the Pulpit, and from thence put them in mind of the Sacredness of the Place, of their Duty to God and the King; but he found no more Reverence, nor was the clamor and disorder less than before. The Chancellor, from his Seat, commanded the Provost and Magistrates of the City to descend from the Gallery in which they sat, and by their Authority to Suppress the Riot; which at last with great Difficulty they did, by driving the Rudest of those who made the disturbance out of the Church, and shutting the Doors, which gave the Dean opportunity to proceed in the reading of the Liturgy, that was not at all attended or hearkened to by those who remained within the Church; and if it had, they who were turned out continued their barbarous Noise, broke the Windows, and endeavoured to break down the Doors; so that it was not possible for any to follow their Devotions.

The manner -
how that Li-
turgy was re-
ceived at
Edinburgh.

B O O K

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When all was done that at that time could be done there, and the Concil and Magistrates went out of the Church to their Houses, the Rabble followed the Bishops with all the opprobrious language they could invent, of bringing in Superstition and Popery into the Kingdom, and making the People Slaves; and were not content to use their Tongues, but employed their Hands too in throwing Dirt and Stones at them; and treated the Bishop of *Edinburgh*, whom they looked upon as most Active that way, so Rudely, that with difficulty he got into a House, after they had torn his Habit, and was from thence removed to his own, with great hazard of his Life. As this was the Reception it had in the Cathedral, so it fared not better in the other Churches of the City, but was entertained with the same Hollowing and Outcries; and threatening the Men whose office it was to read it, with the same bitter Execrations against Bishops and Popery.

Hitherto no person of Condition or Name appeared, or seemed to countenance this seditious Confusion; it was the Rabble, of which no body was named, and which is more strange, not one apprehended: and it seems the Bishops thought it not of Moment enough to desire, or require any Help, or Protection from the Council) but without conferring with them, or applying themselves to them, they despatched away an Express to the King, with a full and particular Information of all that had passed, and a desire that He would take that course he thought best for the carrying on his Service.

Until this Advertisement arrived from *Scotland*,

there were very few in *England* who had heard of any Disorders there, or of any thing done there which might produce any. The King himself had been always so jealous of the Privileges of that his Native Kingdom (as hath been touched before) and that it might not be dishonored by a suspicion of having any Dependance upon *England*, that he never suffered any thing relating to That to be Debated, or so much as Communicated to his Privy Council in this (though many of that Nation were, without distinction, Counsellors of *England*) but handled all those affairs Himself with two or three *Scots-men*, who always attended in the Court for the business of that Kingdom, which was upon the matter still despatched by the sole advice and direction of the Marquis of *Hamilton*.

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And the truth is, there was so little curiosity either in the Court, or the Country, to know any thing of *Scotland*, or what was done there, that when the whole Nation was solicitous to know what passed weekly in *Germany*, and *Poland*, and all other parts of *Europe* no man ever inquired what was doing in *Scotland*, nor had that Kingdom a place or mention in one Page of any Gazette; and ever after the Advertisement of this preamble to Rebellion, no mention was made of it at the Council-Board, but such a Despatch made into *Scotland* upon it, as expressed the King's dislike and displeasure, and obliged the Lords of the Council there to appear more vigorously in the Vindication of his Authority, and Suppression of those Tumults. But all was too little. That People after they had once begun, pursued the busi-

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ness vigorously, and with all imaginable Contempt of the Government; and though in the Hubbub of the first day there appeared no body of name or reckoning, but the Actors were really of the Dregs of the people, yet they discovered by the countenance of that day, that few men of Rank were forward to engage themselves in the quarrel on the behalf of the Bishops; whereupon more considerable Persons every day appeared against them, and (as heretofore in the case of *St. Paul, Acts 13. 50. the Jews stirred up the devout and honorable Women*) the Women and Ladies of the best Quality declared themselves of the Party, and, with all the reproaches imaginable, made war upon the Bishops, as introducers of Popery and Superstition, against which they avowed themselves to be irreconcilable Enemies; and their Husbands did not long defer the owning the same Spirit; insomuch as within few days the Bishops durst not appear in the Streets, nor in any Courts, or Houses, but were in danger of their Lives; and such of the Lords as durst be in their company, or seemed to desire to rescue them from violence, had their Coaches torn in pieces, and their Persons assaulted, insomuch as they were glad to send for some of those great Men, who did indeed govern the Rabble, though they appeared not in it, who readily came and redeemed them out of their hands: so that by the time new Orders came from *England*, there was scarce a Bishop left in *Edinburgh*, and not a Minister who durst read the Liturgy in any Church.

All the Kingdom flocked to *Edinburgh*, as in a general cause that concerned their Salvation, and

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resolved themselves into a Method of Government, erected several Tables, in which Deputies sat for the Nobility, the Gentlemen, the Clergy, and the Burgeses; out of either of which Tables a Council was elected to conduct their affairs, and a Petition drawn up in the names of the Nobility, Lairds, Clergy, and Burgeses, to the King, complaining of the introduction of Popery, and many other Grievances. And if the Lords of the Council issued out any Order against them, or if the King himself sent a Proclamation for their repair to their Houses, and for the preservation of the Peace, presently some Nobleman deputed by the Tables published a Protestation against those Orders and Proclamations, with the same confidence, and with as much formality, as if the Government were regularly in Their hands.

They called a General Assembly, whither they summoned the Bishops to appear before them, and for not appearing, Excommunicated them; and then they united themselves by Subscribing a Covenant, which they pretended, with their usual confidence, to be no other than had been Subscribed in the Reign of King *James*, and that his Majesty himself had Subscribed it; by which Imposition people of all degrees, supposing it might be a means to Extinguish the present Fire, with all alacrity engaged themselves in it; whereas in truth, they had inserted a Clause never heard of, and quite contrary to the End of that Covenant, whereby they obliged themselves to pursue the Extirpation of Bishops, and had the confidence to demand the same in express terms.

The Scottish
Covenant.

B O O K of the King, in answer to a very gracious Message
 II. the King had sent to them. They published bitter
 Invectives against the Bishops, and the whole Government of the Church, which they were not contented to send only into *England* to kindle the same Fire there, but, with their Letters, sent them to all the Reformed Churches, by which they raised so great a Prejudice to the King, that too many of them believed, that the King had a real design to change Religion, and introduce Popery.

It is very true, there were very many of the Nobility, and Persons of principal Quality of that Nation, and in *Edinburgh* at that time, who did not appear yet, and concur in this Seditious behaviour, or own their being yet of their Party; but on the contrary seemed very much to dislike their proceedings: but it is as true, that very few had the courage to do any thing in Opposition to them, or to concur in the Prosecution of any Regal Act against them; which did in some respects more advance their Designs, than if they had manifestly joined with them. For these Men, many of whom were of the Council, by all their Letters into *England*, exceedingly undervalued the Disorder, as being
 “ very easy to be Suppressed in a short time, when
 “ the People’s eyes should be opened; and that the
 “ removing the Courts to some other place, and a
 “ gracious condescension in the King in offering
 “ Pardon for what was past, would suddenly Sub-
 “ due them, and every body would return to his
 “ Duty:” and the City of *Edinburgh* itself writ an humble Letter to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*,
 excusing

excusing the Disorders which had been raised by the Ignorance and Rudeness of the meanest of the People, and beseeching him “ to intercede with his Majesty for the suspension of his Prejudice to them, till they should manifest their Duty to him, “ by inflicting exemplary Punishment upon the “ chief Offenders, and causing the Liturgy to be “ received, and submitted to in all their Churches; ” which they professed they would in a short time bring to pass. So that by this means, and the Interposition of all those of that Nation who attended upon his Majesty in his Bed - Chamber, and in several Offices at Court, who all undertook to know by their Intelligences that all was quiet, or would speedily be so ; his Majesty (who well knew that they who appeared most active in this Confederacy were much inferior to Those who did not appear, and who professed great Zeal for his Service) hardly prevailed with himself to believe that he would receive any Disturbance from thence, till he found all his Condescensions had raised their Insolence, all his Offers rejected, and his Proclamation of Pardon slighted and contemned ; and that they were lifting men towards the raising an Army, under the obligation of their Covenant, and had already chosen Colonel *Lesly*, a Soldier of that Nation of long Experience and eminent Command under the King of *Sweden* in *Germany*, to be their General ; who being lately Disobliged (as they called it) by the King, that is, denied somewhat he had a mind to have, had accepted of the Command. Then at last the King thought it time to resort to other Coun-

B O O K fells, and to provide Force to Chastise them, who
 II. had so much despised all his gentler Remedies.

He could now no longer defer the acquainting the Council-Board, and the whole Kingdom of *England* with the Indignities he had sustained in *Scotland*; which he did by Proclamations, and Declarations at large, setting out the whole Proceedings which had been; and in the end of the Year 1638 declared his Resolution to raise an Army to Suppress their Rebellion, for which he gave present order.

And this was the first Alarm *England* received towards any Trouble, after it had enjoyed for so many Years the most uninterrupted Prosperity, in a full and plentiful Peace, that any Nation could be blessed with: and as there was no apprehension of trouble from Within, so it was secured from Without, by a stronger Fleet at Sea than the Nation had ever been acquainted with. which drew reverence from all the neighbour Princes. The Revenue had been so well improved, and so warily managed, that there was Money in the Exchequer proportionable for the undertaking any noble Enterprize: nor did this first noise of War, and approach towards Action, seem to make any impression upon the Minds of men, the *Scots* being in no degree either Loved or Feared by the People; and most men hoped, that this would free the Court from being henceforth troubled with Those men; and so they seemed to embrace the Occasion with notable alacrity: and there is no doubt, but if all of that Nation who were united in the Rebellion (some

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of which staid yet in the Court) had marched in their Army, and publicly Owned the Covenant, which in their Hearts they adored, neither the King, nor the Kingdom, could have sustained any great Damage by them; but the monument of their Presumption and their Shame would have been raised together, and no other memory preserved of their Rebellion but in their memorable Overthrow.

God Almighty would not suffer this discerning Spirit of Wisdom to govern at this time: the King thought it unjust to condemn a Nation for the transgression of a part of it, and still hoped to redeem it from the infamy of a General Defection, by the exemplary Fidelity of a Superior Party, and therefore withdrew not his Confidence from any of Those who attended his Person, who, in truth, lay Leiger for the Covenant, and kept up the spirits of their Countrymen by Their intelligence.

The King hastened the Raising an Army, which was not long in doing. He chose to make the Earl of *Arundel* his General, a Man who was thought to be made choice of for his Negative Qualities: He did Not love the *Scots*; he did Not love the Puritans; which Qualifications were allayed by another Negative, he did Not much love Any body else: but he was fit to keep the State of it; and his Rank was such, that no man would decline the Serving under him.

The King
raises an Army
against
the Scots:

The Earl of *Essex* was made Lieutenant-General of the Army, the most Popular man of the Kingdom, and the Darling of the Sword-men; who, between a hatred and a contempt of the *Scots*, had

B O O K nothing like an affection for any man of that Nation ;
II. and therefore was so well pleased with his Promotion , that he begun to love the King the better for conferring it upon him , and entered upon the province with great Fidelity and Alacrity , and was capable from that hour of any Impression the King would have fixed upon him.

The Earl of *Holland* was General of the Horse ; who , besides the Obligations he had to the Queen (who vouchsafed to own a particular trust in him) was not then liable to the least Suspicion of want of affection , and zeal for the King's Service.

In the beginning of the Spring , which was in the Year 1639 , an Army was drawn together of near six thousand Horse , and about that number in Foot , all very well disciplined Men , under as good and experienced Officers , as were to be found at that time in *Christendom*. With this Army abundantly supplied with a Train of Artillery , and all other Provisions necessary , the King advanced in the beginning of the Summer towards the Borders of *Scotland*.

and a Fleet.

This was not all the Strength that was provided for the Suppressing that Rebellion , but the King had likewise provided a good Fleet , and had caused a body of three thousand Foot to be embarked on those Ships ; all which were put under the Command of the Marquis of *Hamilton* , who was to infest the Country by Sea to hinder their Trade , and to make a descent upon the Land , and join with such Forces as the Loyal Party of that Nation should draw together to assist the King's , which his Own interest

(as was believed) would give great life to , his B O O K
 Family being numerous in the Nobility , and united II.
 in an entire Dependance upon him.

Upon the first March of the Army Northwards, The Earl of
 the Earl of *Essex* was sent with a party of Horse and Essex posses-
 Foot, to use all possible expedition to possess himself ses Berwick.
 of *Berwick*, which the King had been advertised
 the *Scots* would speedily be Masters of. The Earl
 lost no time, but marched day and night with
 great order and diligence; and every day met several
Scots-men of Quality well known to him, and sent
 Expressly to the King, who all severally made him
 very particular relations of the Strength of the *Scots*
 Army, the excellent Discipline that was observed
 in it, and the goodness of the Men, and that they
 were by that time possessed of *Berwick*; and when
 he was within one day's March of it, a Person of prin-
 cipal Condition, of very near relation to the King's
 Service, (who pretended to be sent upon matter of
 high Importance to his Majesty from Those who
 most intended his Service there) met him, and advi-
 sed him very earnestly " not to advance farther
 " with his Party, which, he said, " was so much
 " Inferior in number to those of the Enemy, that
 " it would infallibly be cut off: that himself over-
 " took the day before a strong Party of the Army,
 " consisting of three thousand Horse and Foot with
 " a Train of Artillery, all which he left at such a
 " Place (which he named) " within three hours
 " March of *Berwick*, where they resolved to be the
 " Night before, so that his proceeding farther must
 " be Fruitless, and expose him to inevitable Ruin."

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These Advertisements wrought no otherwise upon the Earl, than to hasten his Marches, insomuch that he came to *Berwick* sooner than he proposed to have done, entered the Place without the least Opposition, and by all the Inquiry he could make by sending out Parties, and other Advertisements, he could not discover that any of the Enemies Forces had been drawn that way, nor indeed that they had any considerable Forces together nearer than *Edinburgh*.

The Earl being thus possessed of his Post, lost no time in advertising the King of it, and sent him a very particular account of the Informations he had received from so many Ear and Eye witnesses, who were all at that time in the Court, and very fit to be Suspected after the publishing of so many Falshoods; and these very Men had been constant in the same Reports, and as confident in reporting the Defeat of the Earl of *Essex* and cutting off his Party, as they had been to Himself of the *Scots* March, and their being Masters of *Berwick*. The Joy was not concealed with which his Majesty received the News of the Earl's being in *Berwick*, the Contrary whereof those Men made him apprehend with much Perplexity; but they underwent no other reproach for their Intelligence, than that their Fears had multiplied their Sight, and that they had been Frighted with other men's Relations; which Remissness, to call it no worse, was an ill Omen of the Discipline that was like to be observed.

If the War had been now vigorously pursued, it had been as soon ended as begun; for at this time

they had not drawn three thousand Men together in the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, nor had in truth Arms complete for such a number, though They had the possession of all the King's Forts and Magazines there, nor had they Ammunition to supply their few Fire Arms; Horses they had, and Officers they had, which made all their Show. But it was the fatal Misfortune of the King, which proceeded from the Excellency of his Nature, and his Tenderness of Blood, that he Deferred so long his Resolution of Using his Arms; and after he had taken that Resolution, that it was not Prosecuted with more Vigor.

He more intended the Pomp of his Preparations than the Strength of them, and did still believe that the one would save the labor of the other. At the same time that he resolved to raise an Army, he caused inquiry to be made, what Obligations lay upon his subjects to assist him, both as he went himself in Person, and as it was an expedition against the *Scots*; which, in the ancient Enmity between the two Nations, had been provided for by some Laws; and in the Tenure which many Men held their Estates by, he found that the Kings had usually, when they went to make War in their own Persons, called as many of the Nobility to attend upon them as they thought fit.

Thereupon he Summoned most of the Nobility of the Kingdom, without any consideration of their Affections how they stood disposed to that Service, to Attend upon him by a day appointed, and through out that Expedition; presuming that the glory of

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The King summons the English Nobility to attend him.

B O O K II. such a visible appearance of the whole Nobility, would look like such an Union in the Quarrel, as would at once Terrify and Reduce the *Scots*; not considering that such kinds of Uniting do often produce the greatest Confusions, when more and greater Men are called together than can be united in Affections and Interests; and in the necessary Differences which arise from thence, they quickly come to know each other so well; as they rather break into several Divisions, than Join in any one Public interest; and from hence have always risen the most dangerous Factions, which have threatened and ruined the Peace of Nations: and it fell out no better here. If there had been none in the March but Soldiers, it is most probable that a noble Peace would have quickly ensued, even without Fighting; but the Progress was more illustrious than the March, and the Soldiers were the least part of the Army, and least consulted with.

In this Pomp the King continued his journey to *York*, where he had a full Court, those Noblemen of the Northern Parts, and many others who overtook not the King till then, joining all in that City; where his Majesty found it necessary to stay some days; and there the Fruit, that was to be gathered from such a Conflux, quickly Budded out. Some Rules were to be set down for the Government of the Army; the Court was too Numerous to be wholly left to its own licence; and the multitude of the *Scots* in it, administered matter of Offence and Jealousy to People of all conditions, who had too much cause to fear that the King was every day Betrayed; the

common Discourse by all the *Scots* being either to magnify the Good Intentions of their Country-men, and that they had all Duty for the King, or to undervalue the Power and Interest of Those who discovered themselves against the Church.

It was therefore thought fit by the whole body of the Council, that a short Protestation should be drawn, in which all Men should “ profess their
“ Loyalty and Obedience to his Majesty, and dis-
“ claim and renounce the having any Intelligence,
“ or holding any Correspondence with the Rebels.” No man imagined it possible that any of the *English* would refuse to make that Protestation; and they who thought worst of the *Scots*, did not think they would make any Scruple of doing the same, and consequently that there would be no Fruit, or Discovery from that Test; but they were deceived: the *Scots* indeed took it to a Man, without grieving their Conscience, or reforming their Manners. But amongst the *English* Nobility the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brook* (two Popular men, and most Undevoted to the Church, and, in truth, to the whole Government) positively refused in the King’s own Presence to make any such Protestation. They said, “ If the
“ King suspected their Loyalty he might proceed
“ against them as he thought fit; but that it was
“ against the Law to impose any Oaths or Protestations upon them which were not Enjoined by the
“ Law; and, in that respect, that they might not
“ Betray the common Liberty, they would not
“ Submit to it.” This administered matter of new Dispute in a very unseasonable time; and though

B O O K there did not then appear More of the same mind,
II. and they two were Committed, at least Restrained of their liberty, yet this discovered too much of the Humor and Spirit of the Court in their daily discourses upon that Subject; so that the King thought it best to dismiss those two Lords, and require them to return to their Houses: and if all the rest who were not Officers of the Army, or of absolute Necessity about the King's person, had been likewise Dismissed and sent home, the Business had been better Prosecuted.

Indeed if the King himself had stayed at *London*, or, which had been the next best, kept his Court and resided at *York*, and sent the Army on their proper Errand, and left the matter of the War wholly to Them, in all human reason his Enemies had been speedily Subdued, and that Kingdom reduced to their Obedience.

Before the King left *York*, Letters and Addresses were sent from the *Scots*, " Lamenting their ill
 " Fortune, that their Enemies had so great credit
 " with the King, as to persuade him to believe that
 " they were or could be Disobedient to him, a thing
 " that could never enter into their Loyal hearts;
 " that they desired nothing but to be admitted into
 " the Presence of their gracious Sovereign, to lay
 " their Grievances at his Royal Feet, and leave the
 " Determination of them entirely to his own Wisdom
 " and Pleasure." And though the humility of the Style gained them many Friends, who thought it great pity, that any Blood should be spilt in a Contention which his Majesty might put an end

to by his own Word as soon as he would hear their Complaints, yet hitherto the King preserved himself from being Wrought upon, and Marched with convenient expedition to the very Borders of *Scotland*, and Encamped with his Army in an open Field called *the Berkes*, on the further side of *Berwick*, and lodged in his Tent with the Army; though every day's March wrought very much upon the Constitution if not the Courage of the Court, and too many wished aloud, "that the Business were brought to a fair Treaty."

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The King goes
to the Borders
of Scotland
with his Army'

Upon advertisement that a Party of the *Scots* Army was upon the March, the Earl of *Holland* was sent with a Body of three thousand Horse, and two thousand Foot, with a fit Train of Artillery, to meet it, and Engage with it; who Marched accordingly into *Scotland* early in a Morning as far as a Place called *Dunce*, ten or twelve Miles into that Kingdom. It was in the beginning of *August*, when the Nights are very short, and, as soon as the Sun rises, the Days for the most part hotter than is reasonably expected from the Climate; and by the testimony of all men that day was the hottest that had been known. When the Earl came with his Horse to *Dunce*, he found the *Scots* drawn up on the side of a Hill, where the Front could only be in view, and where, he was informed, the General *Lesly* and the whole Army was; and it was very true, they were all there indeed; but it was as true, that all did not exceed the number of three thousand Men, very ill Armed, and most Country-Fellows, who were on the sudden got together to make that Show;

Sends the Earl
of Holland as
far as Dunce.

B O O K and *Lesly* had placed them by the advantage of that Hill so speciously, that they had the appearance of a good Body of Men, there being all the semblance of great Bodies behind on the other side of the Hill; the falshood of which would have been manifest as soon as they should move from the place where they were, and from whence they were therefore not to stir.

The Horse had out marched the Foot, which, by reason of the excessive Heat, was not able to use great expedition: besides there was some error in the Orders, and some accidents of the Night that had retarded them; so that when the enemy appeared first in view, the Foot and the Artillery was three or four Miles behind.

Nothing can be said in the Excuse of the Counsel of that day, which Might have made the King a glorious King indeed. The Earl of *Holland* was a man of Courage, and at that time not at all suspected to be Corrupted in his Affections; and though he himself had not seen more of War than two or three Campaigns in *Holland* before his coming to the Court, he had with him many as good Officers as the War of that age, which was very active, had made, and men of unquestionable Courage and Military knowledge. As he might very safely have made a Halt at *Dunce* till his Foot and Artillery came up to him, so he might securely enough have engaged his Body of Horse against their Whole inconsiderable Army, there being neither Tree nor Bush to interrupt his Charge; but it was thought otherwise; and no question it was generally believed, by

The Earl's
Retreat from
Dunce.

the placing and drawing out their Front in so conspicuous a place, by the appearance of other Troops behind them, and by the showing great herds of Cattle at a distance upon the Hills on either side, that Their Army was very much Superior in number. And therefore as soon as the Earl came in view, he despatched Messengers one after another to the King, with an account of what He heard and saw, or believed he saw, and yet thought not fit to stay for an Answer; but with the joint Consent of all his Officers (for it was never after pretended that any one Officer of name Dissuaded it, though they were still Ashamed of it) Retired towards his Foot, to whom he had likewise sent Orders not to Advance; and so Wearied and Tired by the length of the March, and more by the heat of the Weather, which was intolerable, they returned to the Camp, where the King was; and the *Scots* drew a little back, to a more convenient Post for their residence.

The Covenanters, who very well understood the Weakness of the Court, as well as their own Want of Strength, were very reasonably exalted with this Success, and scattered their Letters abroad amongst the Noblemen at Court, according to the Humors of the men to whom they writ; there being upon the matter an unrestrained Intercourse between the King's Camp and *Edinborough*.

They writ three several Letters to the three Generals, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Essex*, and the Earl of *Holland*. That to the Earl of *Essex* was in a dialect more Submiss than to the others; they

The Covenanters write to the three General Officers.

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said much to him of " his own Fame and Reputation, which added to their Affliction that He should be in Arms against them; That they had not the least imagination of entering into a War against *England*, their only thought and hope was to defend their own Rights and Liberties, which were due to them by the Law of the Land, until they might have Access to his Majesty to expose their Complaints to him, from which they were hindered by the Power and Greatness of some of their own Country-men;" being desirous the Earl should understand that their principal Grievance was the Interest of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who, they knew, was not in any degree acceptable to the Earl; and therefore desired him " to be ready to do them good offices to the King, that they might be admitted to his Presence." The Earl of *Essex* who was a punctual man in point of Honor, received this Address superciliously enough, sent it to the King without returning any Answer, or holding any Conference, or performing the least Ceremony, with or towards the Messengers

The Earls of *Arundel* and *Holland* gave another kind of Reception to the Letters they received. To the former, after many professions of high Esteem of his Person, they enlarged upon " their great Affection to the *English* Nation, and how they abhorred the thought of a War between the two Nations;" they besought him " to present their Supplication (which they inclosed) " to the King, and to procure their Deputies admission to his Majesty." The Earl used them with

more Respect than was suitable to the office of a General, and made many professions of "his desire
" to Interpose, and Mediate a good Peace between
" the Nations : " and it was confidently reported ,
and believed , that he had frequently made those
Professions by several Messages he had sent be-
fore into *Scotland* ; and he had given Passes to many
obscure Persons , to go into and return out of that
Kingdom.

Their Letter to the Earl of *Holland* was in a
more Confident style , as to a man from whom
they Expected all good offices. They sent him
likewise a Copy of their Supplication to the King ,
and desired him " to use his credit that a Treaty
" might be entered into . and that his Majesty
" would appoint men of Religion and of public
" Hearts to manage the Treaty . " From this time
that Earl was found at least enough inclined to
That interest ; and the King's readiness to hear
discourses of a Pacification , and that Messengers
would be shortly sent to him with Propositions
worthy of his Acceptation . abated those Animosi-
ties , and appetite to War , which had made all the
noise in the March .

Indeed the Marquis of *Hamilton's* Neighbourly
residence with his Fleet and Foot - Soldiers before
Leith , without any show of Hostility , or any care
taken to draw his Friends and Followers together
for the King's Service ; on the other side , the Visits
his Mother made him on board his Ship , who was
a Lady of great Authority amongst the Covenanters ,
and most addicted to Them and their Covenant , her

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Daughters being likewise married to those Noblemen who most furiously Persecuted the Church, and Presided in those Councils; the King's refusing to give leave to some Officers of Horse who had offered to make Inroads into the Country and destroy the Stock thereof, whereby they would be presently obliged to make Submission, and to ask Pardon; and lastly the reception of the Earl of *Holland* after his shameful Retreat, with so much Satisfaction and Joy as his Majesty had manifested upon his return (having after the first Messenger's arrival from *Dunce*, when the Enemy was in view, sent him Orders not to Engage) made it then suspected, as it was afterwards believed by Those who stood nearest, that his Majesty had in truth never any purpose to make the War in Blood, but believed that by Showing an Army to them which was able to Force them to any Conditions, they would have begged Pardon for the Contest they had made, and so he should have Settled the Church, and all things else according to his Pleasure: and sure he might have done so, if he had but Sate still, and been Constant to his own Interest, and positive in Denying their insolent Demands. But the *Scots* in the Court had made Impression upon so many of the *English* Lords, that though at that time there were very few of them who had entered into an unlawful Combination against the King, yet there was almost a general Dislike of the War, both by the Lords of the Court and of the Country; and they took this Opportunity to communicate their Murmurs to each other; none of the Persons who

were

were most maligned for their Power and Interest with the King being upon the place: and all men believing, that nothing could be asked of the King but what must be satisfied at their charge, whose damage they considered though it was to be procured at the expense of the King's honor. When the Covenanters understood by their Intelligence, that the Season was ripe, they sent their Supplication (of which they had scattered so many Copies) to the King, and found themselves so welcome to all persons, that their modesty was not like to suffer any violence in offering the conditions.

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The Scots had from the beginning, practised a new sturdy style of Address, in which, under the Licence of accusing the counsel and carriage of Others, whom yet they never named, they bitterly and insolently Reproached the most immediate actions and directions of his Majesty himself; and then made the greatest professions of Duty to his Majesty's person that could be invented. The King had not, at that time, one Person about him of his Council who had the least consideration of his own Honor, or Friendship for those who sat at the Helm of affairs; the Duke of *Lenox* only excepted: who was a Young man of small experience in affairs, though a man of great Honor, and very good Parts, and under the disadvantage of being looked upon as a *Scotsman*; which he was not in his Affections at all, being born in *England* of an *English* Mother, and having had his Education there; and had indeed the manners and

They Address
to the King

B O O K II. affections of an *English*-man, and a duty and reverence for the King and the Church accordingly; and would never trust himself in those Intrigues, as too mysterious for him.

The rest who were about the King in any offices of attendance, were the Earl of *Holland*, whom we have had occasion to mention before in the first entrance upon this Discourse, and whom we shall have often occasion hereafter to speak of; and therefore shall say no more of him now, than that he neither Loved the Marquis of *Hamilton*, whom he believed the *Scots* intended to Revenge themselves upon; nor *Wentworth* the Deputy of *Ireland*; nor the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; nor almost any thing that was then done in Church or State. Secretary *Coke*, who had all the Despatches upon his hand, was near Eighty years of age; a man of gravity, who never had quickness from his Cradle; who loved the Church well enough as it was twenty years before; and understood nothing that had been done in *Scotland*, and thought that nothing that was, or could be done there, was worth such a Journey as the King had put himself to. Sir *Harry Vane* was Comptroller of the House, and a busy and a bustling man; who had credit enough to do his business in all places, and cared for no man otherwise than as he found it very convenient for himself. There was no other of his Council of name but the General the Earl of *Arundel*, who was always true to the Character under which he has been delivered, and thought he had been General long enough. All the Lustre of the Court was in that part of the Nobility which

attended upon Command, and at their Own charge; and therefore the more Weary of it. The Earl of *Pembroke* hath been forgotten, who abhorred the War as obstinately as he loved Hunting and Hawking, and so was like to promote all overtures towards Accommodation with great importunity: so the *Scots* found Persons to treat with according to their Own wish. The Earl of *Essex* still preserving his Grandeur and Punctuality, positively Refused to meddle in the Treaty, or to be Communicated with, or so much as to be Present, or receive any Visits from the *Scottish* Commissioners till after the Pacification was concluded.

The Covenanters were firm, and adhered still to their old natural Principle, even in this their Address; justified all they had done to be “according to Their native Rights, and for “the better advancement of his Majesty’s Service, “which they had always before their eyes;” and desired “to have those receive exemplary punishment, who had done them ill offices and misrepresented their carriage to the King; and that “some noble Lords might be appointed to treat “upon all Particulars.” And upon no other Submission than this, a Treaty was presently entered upon, and concluded.

A Treaty of
Pacification
entered upon
and concluded

Whosoever will take upon him to relate all that passed in that Treaty, must be beholding to his own Invention: the most material matters having passed in Discourse, and very little committed to Writing. Nor did any Two who were present agree in the same Relation of what was said, and

BOOK done; and which was worse, not in the same

II. Interpretation of the Meaning of what was comprehended in Writing. An Agreement was made, if that can be called an Agreement in which nobody meant what others believed he did: "The Armies were to be disbanded; an Act of Oblivion passed; the King's Forts and Castles to be restored; and an Assembly and Parliament to be called for a full Settlement; no persons reserved for Justice, because no Fault had been committed:" The King's Army by the very Words of the Agreement, was not to be disbanded until all should be executed on Their part; and the King himself, at that time, resolved to be present in the Assembly at least, if not in the Parliament: but the Impatience of all was such for Peace, that the King's Army was presently Disbanded; his Majesty making all possible haste himself to *London*, and sending the Earl of *Traquair* to *Edinburgh* to prepare all things for the Assembly; whilst the *Scots* made all the Caresses to many of the *English*, and Both breathed out in mutual confidence their Resentments to each other.

The Marquis of *Hamilton* (whether upon the same of the Treaty, or sent for by the King, few knew) left his Fleet before *Leith* in a very peaceable posture, and came to the *Berkes* some hours after the Treaty was Signed; which was very convenient to Him, for thereby he was free from the Reproach that attended it, and at liberty to find Fault with it; which he did freely to the King, and to some Others, whereby he pre-

served himself in credit to do more Mischief. Many were then of opinion, and still are, that the Marquis at that time was very Unacceptable to his Country - men ; and it is certain that the chief Managers at the Treaty did persuade the *English* in whom they most confided, that their principal aim was to remove Him from the Court ; which was a design willingly heard, and universally grateful. But whatever state of grace he stood in when he came thither, he did himself so good offices before he parted, that he was no more in their disfavor. The King's Army was presently Disbanded, and the *Scots* returned to *Edinburgh* with all they desired ; having gotten many more Friends in *England* than they had before ; kept all their Officers, and as many of their Men as they thought fit, in Pay ; and Prosecuted all those who had not showed the same Zeal in their Covenant as themselves with great rigor, as Men whose Affections they doubted ; and instead of Remitting any thing of their rage against their Bishops, they entered a public Protestation, "That they did not intend, by any thing contained in the Treaty to Vacate any of the Proceedings which had been in the late General Assembly at *Glasgow*" (by which all the Bishops stood Excommunicated) and renewed all their Menaces against them by Proclamation ; and imposed grievous penalties upon all who should presume to harbour any of them in their Houses : so that, by the time the King came to *London*, it appeared plainly, that the Army was disbanded without any Peace made, and the *Scots* in

B O O K equal Inclination, and in more Reputation, to
II. Affront his Majesty than ever. Upon which a Paper published by Them, and avowed to contain the matter of the Treaty, was Burned by the Common Hangman; every body disavowing the Contents of it, but no body taking upon him to publish a Copy that they owned to be True.

The Ill consequences of it.

The Mischief that befel the King from this wonderful Atonement cannot be expressed, nor was it ever discovered what prevailed over his Majesty to bring it so Wofully to pass: all men were Ashamed who had contributed to it; nor had he dismissed his Army with so obliging circumstances as was like to incline them to come willingly together again, if there were occasion to use their service. The Earl of *Essex*, who had merited very well throughout the whole Affair, and had never made a false step in Action or Counsel, was discharged in the Crowd. without ordinary Ceremony; and an accident happening at the same time, or very soon after, by the death of the Lord *Aston*, whereby the Command of the Forrest of *Needwood* fell into the King's disposal, which lay at the very door of that Earl's Estate, and would infinitely have gratified him, was denied to Him, and bestowed upon Another: all which wrought very much upon his high Nature, and made him susceptible of some Impressions afterwards, which otherwise would not have found such easy admission.

The Factions and Animosities at Court were either greater, or more visible, than they had been before. The Earl of *Newcastle* (who was Governor to the Prince, and one of the most Valuable men in the

Kingdom, in his Fortune, in his Dependances, B O O K
and in his Qualifications) had, at his Own Charge, II.
drawn together a goodly Troop of Horse of
two hundred; which for the most part consisted
of the best Gentlemen of the North, who were
either Allied to the Earl, or of immediate Depen-
dence upon him, and came together purely upon
His account; and called this Troop *the Prince
of Wales's Troop*; whereof the Earl himself was
Captain. When the Earl of *Holland* marched with
that Party into *Scotland*, the Earl of *Newcastle* ac-
companied him with that Troop, and upon occasion
of some Orders, desired that Troop, since it be-
longed to the Prince of *Wales*, might have some
Precedence; which the General of the Horse refused
to grant him, but required him to march in the rank
he had prescribed; and the other obeyed it accord-
ingly, but with resentment; imputing it to the
little kindness that was between them. But as soon
as the Army was Disbanded, he sent a Challenge to
the Earl of *Holland*, by a Gentleman very punctual
and well acquainted with those Errands; who took
a proper season to mention it to him, without a
possibility of suspicion. The Earl of *Holland* was
never suspected to want Courage; yet in This
occasion he showed not that alacrity, but that the
delay exposed it to notice; and so, by the King's
Authority, the matter was Composed; though dis-
coursed of with liberty enough to give the whole
Court occasion to express their Affections to either
Party.

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The King himself was very Melancholic, and quickly discerned that he had lost Reputation at home and abroad; and those Counsellors who had been most Faulty, either through want of Courage or Wisdom (for at that time few of them wanted Fidelity) never afterwards recovered Spirit enough to do their Duty, but gave themselves up to Those who had so much Over-witted them; every man shifting the Fault from himself, and finding some Friend to excuse him: and it being yet necessary that so Infamous a matter should not be covered with absolute Oblivion, it fell to Secretary *Coke's* turn (for whom nobody cared) who was then near fourscore years of age, to be made the Sacrifice; and, upon pretence that he had Omitted the writing what he ought to have done, and Inserted somewhat he ought Not to have done, he was put out of his Office; and within a short time after, Sir *Harry Vane* (who was Treasurer of the House) by the Dark Contrivance of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and by the open and visible Power of the Queen, made Secretary of State; which was the only thing that could make the Removal of the other old man Censured and Murmured at: and this was attended again with a declared and unseasonable Dislike and Displeasure in the Queen against the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, newly made Earl of *Strafford*; who out of some kindness to the old man, who had been much trusted by him and of use to him, and out of contempt and detestation of *Vane*, but principally out of a desire to have that Miscarriage expiated by a greater Sacrifice, opposed the Removal of Secretary *Coke* with

all the interest he could, got it Suspended for some time, and put the Queen to the exercise of her full power to perfect her work; which afterwards produced many sad Disasters. So that this unhappy Pacification kindled many Fires of Contention in Court and Country, though the Flame broke out first again in *Scotland*.

On the other side, the *Scots* got so much Benefit and Advantage by it, that they brought all their other mischievous Devices to pass, with ease; and a prosperous Gale in all they went about. They had before little Credit abroad in any Foreign parts, and so could procure neither Arms nor Ammunition; and though they could lead the People at Home, out of the hatred and jealousy of Popery, into unruly Tumults, yet they had not Authority enough over them to engage them in a firm resolution of Rebellion: the Opinion of their unquestionable Duty and Loyalty to the King, was that which had given them reputation to Affront him: nor durst they yet attempt to lay any Tax or Imposition upon the People, or to put them to any Charge. But, after this Pacification, they appeared much more considerable abroad, and at home; Abroad, where they were not so much considered before, now that they had brought an Army into the Field against the King, and gained, all they pretended to desire without reproach or blemish, *France*, their old Ally, looked upon them as good Instruments to disturb their Neighbours; and Cardinal *Richlieu* (who had never looked upon the Defeat and Overthrow at the *Ile of Re*, as any reparation for the Attempt and

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Dishonor of the Invasion) was very glad of the opportunity of Disturbing the Rest and Quiet, which had not been favorable to His designs; and sent an Agent privately to *Edinburgh*, to cherish and foment their Unpeaceable Inclinations; and received Another from thence, who solicited Supplies, and communicated Counsels: he sent them Arms and Ammunition, and promised them Encouragement and Assistance proportionable to any Enterprize they should frankly engage themselves in. *Holland* entered into a closer correspondence with them; and they found Credit there for a great stock of Arms and Ammunition, upon Security of payment within a Year; which Security they easily found a way to give. And thus Countenanced, and Supplied, they quickly got Credit and Power over the people at Home; and as soon as they had formed some Troops of those who had been lifted by them under good Officers (whereof store resorted to them of that Nation out of *Germany* and *Sweden*) and assigned Pay to them, they made no longer scruple to Impose what Money they thought fit upon the People, and to levy it with all Rigor upon them who refused, or expressed any unwillingness to submit to the Imposition; and made the Residence of any amongst them very uneasy, and very insecure, who were but suspected by them not to wish well to their Proceedings: and so they renewed all those Forms for the Administration of the Government, which they had begun in the beginning of the Disorders, and which they disclaimed upon making the Pacification; and refused to suffer the King's Governor of the Castle

of *Edinburgh* (which was put into his hands about the same time) either to repair some Works which were newly fallen down, or so much as to buy Provision in the Town for the food of the Garrison.

But that which was the greatest Benefit and Advantage that accrued to them from the Agreement, and which was worth all the rest, was the Conversation they had with the *English* with so much Reputation, that they had persuaded very many to believe, that they had all manner of Fidelity to the King, and had too much cause to complain of the hard Proceedings against them by the Power of some of their own Country-men; and the Acquaintance they made with some particular Lords, to that degree, that They did upon the matter agree what was to be done for the future, and how to obstruct any Opposition or Proceedings by those who were looked upon as Enemies by both Sides: for none in *Scotland* more Disliked all that was done in Court, and the chief Actors there, than Those Lords of *England* did; though They were not so well prepared for an Expedient for the cure.

The People of *Scotland* being now reduced by Them to a more implicit Obedience, and no body daring to oppose the most extravagant proceedings of the most violent persons in Power, they lost no time, as hath been said, to make all preparations for a War they meant to pursue. Most of the King's Privy-Council and great Ministers, who (though they had not vigorously performed their Duty in support of the Regal Power) till now had been so reserved that they seemed not to approve the Disord-

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erly Proceedings, now as frankly wedded that Interest as any of the Leaders, and quickly became the Chief of the Leaders.

The Earl of Argyle joins with the Covenanters, notwithstanding his great Obligations to the King.

As the Earl of *Argyle*: who had been preserved by the King's immediate Kindness and full Power, and rescued from the Anger and Fury of his incensed Father; who, being provoked by the Disobedience and Insolence of his Son, resolved so to have disposed of his Fortune, that little should have accompanied the Honor after his death. But by the King's interposition, and indeed imposition, the Earl, in strictness of the Law in *Scotland*, having need of the King's grace and protection, in regard of his being become Roman-Catholic, and his Majesty granting all to the Son which he could exact from the Father, the old Man was in the end compelled to make over all his Estate to his Son; reserving only such a provision for Himself, a supported him according to his Quality during his Life, which he spent in the parts beyond the Seas. The King had too much occasion afterwards to remember, that in the close, after his Majesty had determined what should be done on either part, the old Man declared "He would submit to the King's Pleasure, though he "believed he was hardly dealt with;" and then with some Bitterness put his Son in mind of his Undutiful carriage towards him; and charged him "to carry "in his mind how Bountiful the King had been to "him;" which yet, he told him, he was sure he would forget: and thereupon said to his Majesty "Sir, I must "know this young Man better than you can do; you "have brought Me low, that you may raise Him; "I doubt you will live to repent; for he is a Man

“ of craft, subtilty, and falshood, and can love no
 “ Man; and if ever he finds it in his power to do You
 “ a mischief, he will be sure to do it.” The King
 considered it only as the effect of his Passion, and
 took no other care to prevent it, but by heaping
 every day new obligations upon him, making him
 a Privy-Counsellor, and giving him other Offices
 and Power to do Hurt, thereby to Restrain him
 from doing it; which would have wrought upon any
 Generous Nature the Effect it ought to have done.
 The Earl (for his Father was now dead) came not
 to *Edinburgh* during the first Troubles; and though
 he did not dissemble his Displeasure against the
 Bishops, because one of them had Affronted him, in
 truth, very Rudely, yet he renewed all imaginable
 professions of Duty to the King and a readiness to
 engage in his Service, if those Disorders should con-
 tinue: but after the Pacification, and Disbanding of
 the King’s Army, and the Covenanters declaring
 that they would adhere to the Acts of the Assembly
 at *Glasgow*, he made haste to *Edinburgh* with a great
 train of his Family and Followers; and immediately
 signed the Covenant, engaged for the provision of
 Arms, and raising Forces; and in all things behaved
 himself like a Man that might very safely be confided
 in by that Party.

There wanted not persons still who persuaded the
 King “ that all might yet be ended without Blood;
 “ that there were great Divisions amongst the chief
 “ Leaders, through emulation and ambition of
 “ Command; and that the access of the Earl of *Argyle*
 “ to that Party, would drive others as considerable

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“ from it, who never did, nor ever would unite
 “ with him in any design;” and therefore advised
 “ that his Majesty would require them to send some
 “ Persons intrusted by their Body to attend him, and
 “ give an account of the Reasons of their Proceed-
 “ ings.” They demanded a safe Conduct for the
 security of the Persons they should employ; which
 was sent accordingly: and thereupon some persons
 of the Nobility, and Others, were Commissioned,
 to wait on the King; amongst which the Lord *Lowden*
 was principally relied on for his Parts and Abili-
 ties; a Man who was better known afterwards, and
 whom there will hereafter be so often occasion to
 mention, as it will not be necessary in this place fur-
 ther to enlarge upon him. They behaved themselves,
 in all respects, with the Confidence of men employed
 by a Foreign State; refused to give any account but
 to the King himself; and even to Himself gave no
 other Reason for what was done, but the Authority
 of the doers, and the Necessity that required it; that
 is, that They thought it necessary: but then they
 Polished their sturdy behaviour, with all the profes-
 sions of Submission and Duty, which their Language
 could afford.

A letter in-
 tercepted
 from some of
 the Scottish
 Nobility to
 the French
 King.

At this time the King happened to intercept a
 Letter, which had been signed by the chief of the
 Covenanters, and particularly by the Lord *Lowden*,
 written to the *French* King; in which they complained
 “ of the Hardness and Injustice of the Government
 “ that was exercised over them; put Him in mind
 “ of the Dependance this Kingdom formerly had
 “ upon that Crown; and desired him now to take

“ them into his Protection, and give them Assistance ; B O O K
 “ and that his Majesty would give entire credit to II.
 “ one *Colvil*, who was the Bearer of that Letter,
 “ and well instructed in all Particulars :” and the Letter itself was sealed, and directed *Au Roy* ; a style only used from Subjects to their natural King. This Letter being seen and perused by the Lords of the Council, and the Lord *Lowden* being examined, and refusing to give any other answer, than “ That
 “ it was writ before the Agreement, and thereupon
 “ reserved and never sent ; that if he had committed
 “ any Offence, he ought to be questioned for it in
 “ *Scotland*, and not in *England* ; and insisting upon
 “ his safe Conduct, demanded liberty to return :”
 All Men were of opinion that so foul a Conspiracy and Treason ought not to be so Slightly excused ; and that both the Lord *Lowden*, and *Colvil* (who was likewise found in *London* and apprehended) should be committed to the Tower : which was done accordingly ; all Men expecting that they should be brought to a speedy Trial.

This Discovery made a very deep Impression upon the King ; and persuaded him that such a foul Application could never have been thought of, if there had not been more Poison in the heart than could be expelled by easy Antidotes ; and that the strongest Remedies must be provided to root out this Mischief : thereupon he first advised with that Committee of the Council, which used to be consulted in Secret affairs, What was to be done ? That Summer’s action had wasted all the Money that had been carefully laid up ; and to carry on that vast Expense, the Revenue

B O O K of the Crown had been Anticipated; so that, though
 II. the raising an Army was visibly Necessary, there appeared no means How to raise that Army. No Expedient occurred to them so proper as a Parliament, which had been now intermitted near twelve Years. And though those Meetings had of late been attended by some Disorders, the effects of Mutinous Spirits; and the last had been Dissolved (as hath been said before) with some circumstances of Passion and Undutifulness, which so far Incensed the King that he was less inclined to those Assemblies; yet this long Intermision, and the general Composure of Men's minds in a happy Peace, and universal Plenty over the whole Nation (superior sure to what any other Nation ever enjoyed) made it reasonably believed, notwithstanding the murmurs of the People against some exorbitancies of the Court, that Sober men, and such as loved the Peace and Plenty they were possessed of, would be made choice of to serve in the House of Commons; and then the temper of the House of Peers was not to be apprehended: but especially the opinion of the Prejudice and general Aversion over the whole Kingdom to the *Scots*, and the Indignation they had at Their presumption in their design of Invading *England*, made it believed that a Parliament would express a very sharp sense of their Insolence and Carriage towards the King, and provide Remedies proportionable.

A Parliament
 called in Eng-
 land to Sit in
 April 1640.

Upon these Motives and Reasons, with the unanimous Consent and Advice of the whole Committee, the King resolved to Call a Parliament; which he communicated the same day, or rather took the resolution

resolution that day, in his full Council of State, which expressed great Joy upon it; and directed the Lord Keeper to issue out Writs for the meeting of a Parliament upon the Third day of *April* then next ensuing; it being now in the Month of *December*; and all expedition was accordingly used in sending out the said Writs, the notice of it being most Welcome to the whole Kingdom.

That it might appear that the Court was not at all apprehensive of what the Parliament would, or could do; and that it was Convened by his Majesty's grace and inclination, not by any motive of necessity; it proceeded in all respects in the same Unpopular ways it had done; Ship money was levied with the same severity; and the same rigor used in Ecclesiastical Courts, without the least compliance with the humor of any Man; which looked like Steadiness; and, if it were Then well pursued, degenerated too soon afterwards.

In this Interval, between the sealing of the Writs and the Convention of a Parliament, the Lord Keeper *Coventry* died; to the King's great detriment, rather than to his Own. So much hath been said already of this great Man, that there shall be no further enlargement in this place, than to say, that he was a very Wise and Excellent person, and had a rare Felicity, in being looked upon generally throughout the Kingdom with great Affection, and singular Esteem, when very few other men in any High Trust were so; and it is very probable, if He had lived to the Sitting of that Parliament, when, whatever lurked in the Hearts of any, there was not the least

The Lord
Keeper *Co-*
ventry died.

B O O K Outward appearance of any Irreverence to the Crown,
 II. that he might have had great Authority in the forming those Counsels, which might have preserved it from so unhappy a Dissolution. His Loss was the more manifest and visible in his Successor; the Seal being within a day or two given to Sir *John Finch*, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; a Man exceedingly obnoxious to the People upon the business of Ship-money; and not of Reputation and Authority enough, to countenance and advance the King's Service.

Sir John
 Finch made
 Lord Keeper.

These Digressions have taken up too much time, and may seem Foreign to the proper subject of this Discourse; yet they may have given some Light to the obscure and dark passages of that Time, which were Understood by very few.

The Parlia-
 ment met,
 April the
 Third, 1640.

The Parliament met according to Summons upon the Third of *April* in the Year 1640, with the usual Ceremony and Formality: and after the King had shortly mentioned "his desire to be again Acquainted
 " with Parliaments, after so long an Intermision;
 " and to receive the Advice and Assistance of his
 " Subjects there;" he referred the Cause of the present Convention to be enlarged upon by the Lord Keeper: who related the whole Proceedings of *Scotland*; "his Majesty's condescensions the Year before,
 " in Disbanding his Army upon their promises and
 " professions; their Insolencies since; and their
 " Address to the King of *France*, by the Letter
 " mentioned before;" which the King had touched upon, and having forgot to make the Observation upon the Superscription himself, he required the

Keeper to do it; who told them after the whole Relation, "That his Majesty did not expect Advice
 " from them, much less that They should interpose
 " in any office of Mediation, which would not be
 " Grateful to him; but that they should, as soon as
 " might be, give his Majesty such a Supply, as he
 " might provide for the Vindication of his Honor,
 " by raising an Army, which the Season of the
 " Year, and the Progress the Rebels had already
 " made, called for without delay; and his Majesty
 " assured them, if they would gratify him with the
 " despatch of This matter, that he would give them
 " time enough afterwards to represent any Grievan-
 " ces to him, and a favorable Answer to them:"

and so dismissed the Commons to chuse their Speaker; to which Serjeant *Glanville* was designed, and chosen the same day: a man very equal to the work, very well acquainted with the proceedings in Parliament; of a quick conception, and of a ready and voluble expression, dexterous in disposing the House, and very acceptable to them. The Earl of *Arundel*, Earl Marshal of *England*, was made Lord Steward of the King's House; an Office necessary in the beginning of a Parliament, being to swear all the Members of the House of Commons before they could Sit there. Two days after, the Commons presented their Speaker to the King, who, in the accustomed manner, approved their choice; upon which they returned to their House, being now formed and qualified to enter upon any Debates.

Serjeant
Glanvil
 chosen
 Speaker.

The House met always at eight of the Clock, and rose at twelve; which were the old Parliament.

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hours; that the Committees, upon whom the greatest burden of the business lay, might have the afternoons for Their preparation and despatch. It was not the Custom to enter upon any Important business, in the first Fortnight; both because many Members used to be absent so long; and that time was usually thought necessary for the appointment and nomination of Committees, and for other Ceremonies and Preparations that were usual: but there was no regard Now to that Custom; and the appearance of the Members was very great, there having been a large time between the issuing out of the Writs and the meeting of the Parliament, so that all Elections were made, and returned, and every body was willing to fall to the Work.

Mr. Pym's,
and Others
Speeches con-
cerning
Grievances.

Whilst men gazed upon each other, looking who should begin (much the greatest part having never before sat in Parliament) Mr. *Pym*, a man of good reputation, but much better known afterwards, who had been as long in those Assemblies as any man then living, brake the Ice, and in a set Discourse of above two hours, after mention of the King with the most profound reverence, and commendation of his Wisdom and Justice, he observed, "That by the long Intermission of Parliaments many Unwarrantable things had been practised, notwithstanding the great Virtue of his Majesty:" and then enumerated all the Projects which had been set on foot; all the Illegal Proclamations which had been published, and the Proceedings which had been upon those Proclamations; the Judgment upon Ship-money; and many Grievances which related to the

Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction ; summing up shortly, and sharply, all that most reflected upon the Prudence, and the Justice of the Government; concluding, “ That he had only laid that Scheme before them, “ that they might see how much work they had to “ do to Satisfy their Country; the method and manner of the doing whereof he left to their Wisdoms.”

Mr. *Grimston* insisted only on the business of Ship-money; the irregular and preposterous engaging the Judges to deliver their Opinion to the King, and their being afterwards divided in their Judgments; and said, “ He was persuaded, that They, who “ gave their Opinions for the Legality of it, did it “ against the *dictamen* of their own Conscience.”

Peard, a bold Lawyer, of little note, inveighed more Passionately against it, calling it an *Abomination*: upon which, *Herbert*, the King’s Solicitor, with all imaginable address, in which he then excelled, put them in mind “ with what Candor his Majesty “ had proceeded in That, and all Other things, “ which related to the administration of Justice to “ all his people; that, how persuaded soever He “ was within himself of the Justice as well as Necessity “ of levying Ship-money, he would not send out a “ Writ for the doing thereof, till he received the “ affirmative Advice of all the Judges of *England*; “ and when the payment was Opposed by a Gentle- “ man” (and then he took occasion to stroke and commend Mr. *Hambden*, who sat under him, for his great temper and modesty in the prosecution of that Suit) “ the King was very well contented that “ all the Judges of *England* should determine the

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“ Right ; that never any Cause had been debated
 “ and argued more Solemnly before the Judges ;
 “ who , after long deliberation between themselves ,
 “ and being attended with the Records , which had
 “ been cited on both Sides , delivered each man his
 “ Opinion and Judgment publicly in the Court ,
 “ and so largely , that but two Judges argued in a
 “ day ; and after all this , and a Judgment with that
 “ Solemnity pronounced For the King , by which
 “ the King was as Legally possessed of that Right ,
 “ as of any thing else he had ; that any particular
 “ man should presume to speak against it with that
 “ Bitterness , and to call it *an Abomination* , was
 “ very Offensive , and Unwarrantable ; and desired
 “ that that Gentleman , who had used that Expres-
 “ sion , might Explain himself , and then withdraw.”
 Very many called him to the Bar ; and the Solicitor’s
 Discourse was thought to have so much Weight in
 it , that Mr. *Peard* very hardly escaped a severe
 Reprehension : which is mentioned only that the
 temper and sobriety of that House may be taken
 notice of , and their Dissolution , which shortly
 after fell out , the more lamented.

The House of
 Peers advise
 the Commons
 to begin with
 a Supply :

Though the Parliament had not sat above six or
 seven days , and had managed all their Debates , and
 their whole Behaviour with wonderful order and
 sobriety , the Court was Impatient that no advance
 was yet made towards a Supply ; which was foreseen
 would take up much time , whensoever they went
 about it , though never so cordially ; and therefore
 they prevailed with the House of Peers , which was
 more entirely at the King’s disposal , that they would

demand a Conference with the House of Commons, and then propose to them, by way of advice, "That they would begin with giving the King a Supply, in regard of the urgency and even necessity of his affairs, and afterwards proceed upon their Grievances, or any thing else as they thought fit:" and the House of Peers accordingly did give their advice to this purpose at a Conference. This Conference was no sooner reported in the House of Commons, than their whole Temper seemed to be shaken. It was the undoubted Fundamental privilege of the Commons in Parliament, that all Supplies should have their rise and beginning from Them; this had never been infringed, or violated, or so much as questioned in the worst Times; and that now after so long intermission of Parliaments, that all Privileges might be forgotten, the House of Peers should begin with an action their Ancestors never attempted, administered too much cause of Jealousy of somewhat else that was intended; and so with an unanimous consent they declared it to be "so high a Breach of Privilege, that they could not proceed upon any other matter until they first received Satisfaction and Reparation from the House of Peers;" and which the next day they demanded at a Conference. The Lords were sensible of their Error; which had been foreseen, and dissuaded by many of them; they acknowledged the Privilege of the Commons as fully as they demanded it, and hoped they had not broken it by offering their advice to them without mentioning the nature of the Supply, the proportion, or manner of raising it, which they

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This voted a
Breach of Privilege by the
Commons.

B O O K “ confessed belonged entirely to Them :” in fine, they desired them, “ that this might be no occasion
II. “ of wasting their time, but that they would proceed
 “ their Own way, and in their Own method, upon
 “ the affairs of the Kingdom.” This gave no satisfaction ; was no reparation ; and served Their turn who had no mind to give any Supply without discovering any such dissatisfaction, which would have got them no credit, the House generally being exceedingly disposed to please the King, and to do him service. But this Breach of Privilege, which was craftily enlarged upon as if it swallowed up all their other Privileges, and made them wholly subservient to the Peers, was universally resented. A Committee was appointed to examine Precedents of former times, in case of violation of their Privileges by the Lords, though not of that magnitude, and thereupon to prepare a Protestation to be sent up to the House of Peers, and to be entered into their own Journal ; and in the mean time no proceedings to be in the House upon any public business, except upon some report from a Committee.

The King's
 Proposition to
 the House of
 Commons :

After some days had passed in this manner, and it not being in view when this debate would be at an end, the King thought of another expedient, and sent a message in writing to the Commons by Sir *Henry Vane*, who was now both Secretary of State and Treasurer of the Household, and at that time of good credit there ; wherein his Majesty took notice, “ that there was some difference between
 “ the two Houses, which retarded the Transaction
 “ of the great affairs of the Kingdom, at a time when

“ a Foreign Army was ready to invade it: That B O O K
 “ he heard the payment of Ship-money, notwith- II.
 “ standing that it was adjudged his right, was not
 “ willingly submitted to by the People; to manifest
 “ therefore his good affection to his Subjects in
 “ general, he made this Proposition, That if the
 “ Parliament would grant him twelve Subsidies to
 “ be paid in three Years, in the manner proposed
 “ (that was, five Subsidies to be paid the first Year,
 “ four the second, and three to be paid the last
 “ Year) his Majesty would then release all his title
 “ or pretence to Ship-money for the future, in such
 “ a manner as his Parliament should advise.

Though Exceptions might have been taken again
 in point of Privilege, because his Majesty took
 notice of the difference between the two Houses;
 yet that Spirit had not Then taken so deep root:
 so that they resolved to enter, the next day after the
 delivery of it, upon a full debate of his Majesty's
 message; they who desired to obstruct the giving
 any Supply, believing they should easily prevail to
 reject this Proposition, upon the greatness of the
 sum demanded, without appearing not to favor the
 Cause in which it was to be employed, which they
 could not have done with any advantage to them-
 selves, the number of that Classis of men being then
 not considerable in the House. It was about the first This debated.
 day of May that the Message was delivered, and
 the next day it was resumed about nine of the Clock
 in the Morning, and the debate continued till four
 of the Clock in the Afternoon; which had been
 seldom used before, but afterwards grew into custom.

■ ○ ○ ■ Many observed " that they were to purchase a
 11. " release of an Imposition very Unjustly laid upon
 " the Kingdom, and by purchasing it, they should
 " upon the matter confess it had been Just;" which
 no man in his heart acknowledged; and there-
 fore wished " that the Judgment might be first
 " examined, and being once declared Void, what
 " they should present the King with, would appear
 " a Gift, and not a Recompence:" but this was
 rather modestly insinuated than insisted upon; and
 the greater number reflected more on the Proportion
 demanded, which some of those who were
 thought very well to understand the state of the
 Kingdom, confidently affirmed to be more than the
 whole stock in Money of the Kingdom amounted
 to; which appeared shortly after to be a very gross
 Miscalculation. There were very few, except
 those of the Court (who were ready to give all that
 the King would ask, and indeed had little to give of
 their own) who did not believe the Sum demanded
 to be too great, and wished that a less might be
 accepted, and therefore were willing, when the
 day was so far spent, that the Debate might be
 adjourned till the next Morning; which was willingly
 consented to by all, and so the House rose. All
 this agitation had been in a Committee of the whole
 House, the Speaker having left the Chair, to which
 Mr. *Lenthall*, a Lawyer of no eminent account, was
 called. But there was not, in the whole day, in
 all the variety of contradictions, an offensive or angry
 word spoken: except only that one private Country-
 Gentleman little known, said, " He observed that

“ the Supply was to be employed in the supporting
“ *Bellum Episcopale*, which he thought the Bishops
“ were fittest to do themselves: ” but as there was
no reply, or notice taken of it, so there was no
body who seconded that envious reflection, nor any
other expression of that kind.

The next day as soon as the House met, and
Prayers were read, it resolved again into a Com-
mittee of the whole House, the same Person being
again called to the Chair: it was expected, and
hoped, that there would have been some new message
from the King, that might have facilitated the
debate; but nothing appearing of that kind, the
Proposition was again read, and men of all sides
discoursed much of what had been said before, and
many spoke with more reflection upon the Judgment
of Ship-money than they had done the day past,
and seemed to wish, “ that whatsoever they should
“ give the King should be a free testimony of their
“ affection and duty, without any release of Ship-
“ money, which deserved no consideration, but in
“ a short time would appear void and null. ” And
this seemed to agree with the sense of so great a part
of the House, that Mr. *Hambden* the most Popular
man in the House (the same who had defended
the Suit against the King in his own name, upon the
Illegality of Ship-money) thought the matter ripe
for the Question, and desired the Question might
be put, “ Whether the House would consent to the
“ Proposition made by the King, as it was contained
“ in the message? ” which would have been sure to
have found a Negative from all who thought the

B O O K Sum too great, or were not pleased that it should
 11. be given in recompence of Ship-money.

When many called to have this Question, Serjeant *Glanville* the Speaker (who sate by amongst the other Members whilst the House was in a Committee, and had rarely used to speak in such seasons) rose up, and in a most pathetical Speech, in which he excelled, endeavoured to persuade the House “to
 “ comply with the King’s desire, for the good of
 “ the Nation, and to reconcile him to Parliaments
 “ for ever, which this seasonable testimony of their
 “ affections would infallibly do.” He made it manifest to them how very inconsiderable a Sum twelve Subsidies amounted to, by telling them, “that he
 “ had computed what he was to pay for those
 “ twelve Subsidies;” and when he named the Sum, he being known to be possessed of a great Estate, it seemed not worth any farther Deliberation. And in the warmth of his Discourse, which he plainly discerned made a wonderful impression upon the House, he let fall some sharp expressions against the Imposition of Ship-money, and the Judgment in the point, which he said plainly “was against the
 “ Law, if he understood what Law was” (who was known to be very Learned) which expression, how necessary and artificial soever to reconcile the affections of the House to the matter in question, very much irreconciled him at Court, and to Those upon whom he had the greatest dependance.

There was scarce ever a Speech that more gathered up and united the Inclinations of a popular Council to the Speaker: and if the Question had

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been presently put, it was believed the number of the Dissenters would not have appeared great. But after a short silence, some men, who wished well to the Main, expressed a dislike of the Way, so that other men recovered new Courage, and called again with some earnestness, "That the Question formerly proposed by Mr. *Hambden* should be put;" which seemed to meet with a concurrence. Mr. *Hyde* then stood up, and desired "that Question might not be put; said, it was a Captious question, to which only one sort of men could clearly give their Vote, which were They who were for a rejection of the King's Proposition, and no more resuming the debate upon that Subject: but that They who desired to give the King a Supply, as he believed most did, though not in such a Proportion, nor, it may be, in that Manner, could receive no Satisfaction by that question; and therefore He proposed, to the end that every man might frankly give his Yea, or his No, that the question might be put only, upon the giving the King a Supply, which being carried in the Affirmative, another question might be upon the Proportion, and the Manner; and if the first were carried in the Negative, it would produce the same effect, as the other question proposed by Mr. *Hambden* would do.

This method was received by some with great approbation, but opposed by others with more than ordinary Passion, and diverted by other Propositions, which being seconded took much time, without pointing to any Conclusion. In the end Serjeant

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Glanville said, " That there had been a Question proposed by his Country-man, that agreed very well with His sense, and moved that the Gentleman might be called upon to propose it again." Mr. *Hyde* stated the case again as he had done, answered somewhat that had been said against it, and moved " that Question might be put." Whereupon for a long time there was nothing said, but a confused clamor, and call, Mr. *Hambden's Question*, Mr. *Hyde's Question*; the call appearing much stronger for the last, than the former: and it was generally believed that the Question had been put, and carried in the Affirmative, though it was positively opposed by *Herbert* the Solicitor General, for what reason no man could imagine, if Sir *Henry Vane* the Secretary had not stood up, and said, " That, as it had been always his custom to deal plainly and clearly with that House in all things, so he could not but now assure them, that the putting, and carrying that Question, could be of no use; for that he was most sure, and had Authority to tell them so, that if they should pass a Vote for the giving the King a Supply, if it were not in the Proportion and Manner proposed in his Majesty's message, it would not be accepted by him; and therefore desired that Question might be laid aside;" which being again urged by the Solicitor-General upon the Authority of what the other had declared, and the other Privy-Counsellors saying nothing, though they were much displeased with the Secretary's averment, the business was no more pressed: but it being near five

of the Clock in the afternoon, and every body weary, it was willingly consented to that the House should be Adjourned till the next morning.

Both Sir *Henry Vane*, and the Solicitor-General (whose opinion was of more weight with the King than the others) had made a worse representation of the humor and affection of the House than it deserved, and undertook to know, that if they came together again, they would pass such a Vote against Ship-money, as would blast that Revenue and other branches of the Receipt; which Others believed they would not have had the confidence to have Attempted; and very Few, that they would have had the credit to have Compassed. What followed in the next Parliament, within less than a Year, made it believed, that Sr. *Henry Vane* acted that part Maliciously, and to bring all into Confusion; he being known to have an implacable hatred against the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant of *Ireland*, whose destruction was then upon the Anvil. But what transported the Solicitor, who had none of the ends of the other, could not be imagined, except it was his pride, and peevishness, when he found that he was like to be of less Authority there, than he looked to be; and yet he was heard with great attention, though his Parts were most prevalent in puzzling and perplexing that discourse he meant to cross. Let their Motives be what they would, they Two, and they only, wrought so far with the King, that without so much Deliberation as the affair was worthy of, his Majesty the next morning, which was on the Fifth of May,

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II.

near a month after their first meeting, sent for the Speaker to attend him, and took care that he should go directly to the House of Peers, upon some apprehension that if he had gone to the House of Commons, that House would have entered upon some ungrateful discourse; which they were not inclined to do: and then sending for that House to attend him, the Keeper, by his Majesty's Command, Dissolved the Parliament.

The Parlia-
ment Dis-
solved.

There could not a greater damp have seized upon the Spirits of the whole Nation, than this Dissolution caused; and men had much of the Misery in view, which shortly after fell out. It could never be hoped that more sober and dispassionate men would ever meet together in that place, or fewer who brought ill purposes with them; nor could any man imagine what Offence they had given, which put the King upon that resolution. But it was observed, that in the countenances of Those who had most opposed all that was desired by his Majesty, there was a marvellous Serenity; nor could they conceal the Joy of their hearts: for they knew enough of what was to come, to conclude that the King would be shortly compelled to call another Parliament, and they were as sure, that so many, so unbiassed men, would never be elected again.

Within an hour after the Dissolving, Mr. Hyde met Mr. *Saint John*, who had naturally a great cloud in his Face, and very seldom was known to smile, but Then had a most cheerful aspect, and seeing the other melancholic, as in truth he was from his heart, asked him, "What troubled him?"

who

who answered, "That the same that troubled Him, B O O K
 " he believed troubled most Good men, that in II.
 " such a time of Confusion, so wise a Parliament,
 " which alone could have found Remedy for it,
 " was so unseasonably dismissed", the other answered
 with a little warmth, " That all was well; and
 " that it must be Worse, before it could be Better;
 " and that this Parliament could never have done
 " what was necessary to be done"; as indeed it would
 not, what He and His friends thought necessary.

The King, when he had better reflected upon
 what was like to fall out, and was better informed
 of the temper and duty of the House of Commons,
 and that they had voted a Supply, if Sir *Henry*
Vane had not hindered it by so positive a declaration
 that his Majesty would refuse it, was heartily Sorry
 for what he had done; declared with great anger,
 " That he had never given him such Authority;
 " and that He knew well that the giving him any
 " Supply would have been welcome to him, be-
 " cause the reputation of his Subjects assisting him
 " in that conjuncture, was all that he looked for
 " and considered." He consulted the same day, or
 the next, whether he might by his Proclamation
 recal them to meet together again: but finding
 that impossible, he fell roundly to find out all
 expedients for the raising of Money, in which he
 had so wonderful success, that, in less than three
 weeks, by the voluntary Loan of the particular
 Lords of the Council, and of other Private Gen-
 tlemen about the City, some relating to the Court,
 and others strangers to it, there was no less than

The King's
 trouble for it
 afterwards.

B O O K three hundred thousand pounds paid into the Ex-
 II. chequer to be issued out as his Majesty should direct: a Sum that sufficiently manifested the plenty of that Time, and greater than most Princes in *Europe* could have commanded in so short a time; and was an unanswerable evidence, that the hearts of his Subjects were not then aliened from their duty to the King, or a just jealousy for His honor.

An Army
 raised.

All diligence was used in making Levies, in which few of the General Officers which had been employed the Year before were made use of; though it was great pity that the Earl of *Essex* was not again taken in; which had infallibly preserved him from swerving from his Duty, and he would have discharged his trust with Courage and Fidelity, and therefore probably with Success: but he was of a haughty Spirit, and did not think his last Summer's Service so well requited, that he was earnestly to solicit for another Office; though there is no doubt but he would have accepted it if it had been offered.

The Earl of
 Northumber-
 land made
 General.

A General was appointed, the Earl of *Northumberland*; and the Lord *Conway* General of the Horse: which made the great Officers of the former Year, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Essex*, and the Earl of *Holland* (who thought themselves free from any Oversight that had been committed) more capable of Insults by those who were ready to work according to the Occurrences upon their several constitutions. But the reputation of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had indeed arrived at a wonderful general estimation, was believed to be most instrumental in it: and the Lord *Conway* was

thought an able Soldier, and of great Parts B O O K
 fides, the Earls of *Effex* and *Holland* were thought II.
 less governable by those Councils to which the
 main was then to be intrusted, the Earl of *Straf-*
ford bearing a part in them; to whom the first was
 very averse, and the latter irreconcilable.

Despatches were sent into *Ireland* to quicken the
 Preparations there, which the Earl had left in a
 great forwardness, under the care of the Earl of
Ormond his Lieutenant General: Moneys issued out
 for the levies of Horse and Foot there, and for the
 making a Train: all which were as well advanced,
 as, considering the general Discomposure, could
 be reasonably expected.

The King, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the The Lord
 Earl of *Strafford*, thought they had well provided Conway
 for the worst in making of the Lord *Conway* to General of the
 be General of the Horse: a man very dear to the Horse.
 two Earls; and indeed, by a very extraordinary
 fate, he had got a very particular interest and esteem
 in many Worthy men of very different qualifications.
 He had been born a Soldier in his Father's Gar-
 rison of the *Brill*, when he was Governor there;
 and bred up, in several Commands, under the
 particular care of the Lord *Vere*, whose Nephew
 he was; and though he was Married young, when
 his Father was Secretary of State, there was no
 Action of the *English* either at Sea or Land, in
 which he had not a considerable Command; and
 always preserved a more than ordinary Reputation,
 in spite of some great Infirmities, which use to
 be a great allay to the credit of active men; for

B O O K he was a voluptuous man in eating and drinking,
II. and of great licence in all other excesses, and yet was very acceptable to the strictest, and the gravest men of all conditions. And which was stranger than all this, he had always (from his Pleasure, to which his nature excessively inclined him, and from his Profession, in which he was diligent enough) reserved so much time for his Books and Study, that he was well versed in all parts of Learning, at least appeared like such a one in all occasions, and in the best companies. He was of a very pleasant and inoffensive Conversation, which made him generally very acceptable: so that the Court being at that time full of Faction, very few loving one another, or those who resorted to any who were not loved by them, He alone was even domestic with all, and not suspected by either of the Lords or the Ladies factions.

The War was generally thought to be as well provided for, as, after the last year's miscarriage, it could be, by His being made General of the Horse; and no man was more pleased with it, than the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who had contracted an extraordinary opinion of this man, and took great delight in his company, he being well able to speak in the Affairs of the Church, and taking care to be thought by him a very Zealous Defender of it; when they who knew him better, knew he had no kind of sense of Religion, and thought all was alike. He was sent down with the first Troops of Horse, and Foot, which were levied, to the Borders of *Scotland*, to attend the motion of

the Enemy, and had a Strength sufficient to stop them if they should attempt to pass the River, which was not Fordable in above one or two places, there being good Garrisons in *Berwick* and *Carlisle*. And in this posture he lay near *Newburn* in the out-skirts of *Northumberland*. BOOK II.

Whilst these things were thus publicly Acted, private agitations were not less vigorously intended. The Treaty and Pacification of the former year, had given an opportunity of forming Correspondences, and contriving Designs, which before had been more Clandestine; and the late meeting in Parliament had brought many together, who could not otherwise have met, and discovered humors and affections, which could not else have been so easily communicated. The Court was full of Faction and Animosity, each man more intending the ruin of his Adversary, and satisfying his private Malice, than advancing his Master's Service, or complying with his Public duty, and to that purpose directing all their endeavours, and forming all their intercourse; whilst every man unwisely thought him whom he found an Enemy to his Enemies, a Friend to all his other Affections; or rather by the narrowness of his understanding, and extent of his passion, contracted all his other affections to that one of Revenge.

And by this means those Emissaries and Agents for the Confusion which was to follow, were furnished with opportunity and art to Entangle all those (and God knows they were a great many) who were transported with those vulgar and vile Considera-

B O O K

II.

A Tumult
about Lambeth
House.

tions: cheap, senseless Libels were scattered about the City, and fixed upon Gates and public remarkable places, traducing and vilifying Those who were in highest Trust and Employment: Tumults were raised, and all licence both in actions and words taken; insomuch as a Rabble of mean, unknown, dissolute Persons, to the number of some thousands, attempted the House of the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* at *Lambeth*, with open profession and protestation, “that they would tear him in pieces;” which (though one of that Rabble, a Sailor, was apprehended and executed in *Southwark*, upon an Indictment of High-Treason) was so just a cause of Terror, that the Arch-Bishop, by the King’s command, lodged for some days and nights in *White-Hall*; which place likewise was not unthreatened in their seditious meetings and discourses. This infamous, scandalous, headless Insurrection, quashed by the deserved death of that one Varlet, was not thought to be contrived or fomented by any persons of Quality: yet it was discoursed after in the House of Commons by Mr. *Strode* (one of those *Ephori* who most avowed the curbing and suppressing of Majesty) with much pleasure and content; and it was mentioned in the first draught of the first Remonstrance (when the same was brought in by Mr. *Pym*) not without a touch of approbation, which was for that reason somewhat altered, though it still carried nothing of censure upon it in that piece.

Things standing thus both in Court and City, and the *Scots* preparing with great industry for Invasion, and we, at least, for a Defence, on a sudden the

Lord *Lowden* (who before was said to be committed for desiring Protection and Aid from the *French* King, by a Letter under his hand) was discharged from his Imprisonment; without imparting that Resolution to the Council; and after a few days admittance and kind reception at *White-Hall*, was dismissed into *Scotland*; his Authority and Power with that People being as considerable as any man's, and his Conduct as necessary for the enterprises they had in hand. This Stratagem was never understood; and was then variously spoken of: many believing he had undertaken great matters for the King in *Scotland*, and to quiet that Distemper: others, that it was an act entirely compassed by the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who was like to stand in need of great Supporters, by that extraordinary obligation to endear himself with that Nation; or to Communicate somewhat to that Nation, if his condition before were so good that it needed no endearment. They who published their thoughts least, made no scruple of saying, "that if the policy were good" and necessary of his first Commitment, it seemed "as just and prudent to have continued him in" that restraint."

The progress in the King's advance for *Scotland*, was exceedingly hindered by the great and dangerous sickness of the Earl of *Northumberland* the General, whose recovery was either totally despaired of by the Physician, or pronounced to be expected very slowly; so that there would be no possibility for him to perform the Service of the North: whereupon he sent to the King, to desire that he would make

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II.

choice of another General. And though the Lord Conway in all his Letters sent advertisement, " that " the *Scots* had not advanced their Preparations to " that degree that they would be able to march that " Year," yet the King had much better Intelligence that they were in readiness to move; and so concluded that it was necessary to send another General; and designed the Earl of *Strafford* for that Command. and to leave the Forces in *Ireland*, which were raised to make a diversion in *Scotland*, to be governed by the Earl of *Ormond*. The Earl of *Strafford* was scarce recovered from a great sickness, yet was willing to undertake the charge, out of pure indignation to see how few men were forward to serve the King with that vigor of mind they ought to do; but knowing well the malicious designs which were contrived against himself, he would rather serve as Lieutenant-General under the Earl of *Northumberland*, than that He should resign his Commission: and so, with and under that qualification, he made all possible haste towards the North, before he had strength enough for the journey.

But before he could arrive with the Army, that infamous irreparable Rout at *Newburn* was fallen out; where the Enemy marched at a time and place, when and where they were expected, through a River deep though Fordable, and up a Hill, where our Army was ranged to receive them: through those difficulties and disadvantages, without giving or taking any Blows (for the five or six men of ours who were killed, fell by their Canon, before the passing of the River) they put our whole Army to

The Lord
Conway
routed at
Newburn.

the most shameful and confounded Flight that was ever heard of; our Foot making no less haste from *Newcastle*, than our Horse from *Newburn*; both leaving the Honor, and a great deal of the Wealth of the Kingdom, arising from the Coal-mines, to Those who had not confidence enough (notwithstanding the evidence they had seen of our fear) to possess that Town in two days after; not believing it possible that such a place, which was able to have maintained the War alone some time, could be so kindly quitted to them: The Lord *Conway* never after turning his face towards the Enemy, or doing any thing like a Commander, though his Troops were quickly brought together again, without the loss of a dozen men, and were so ashamed of their Flight, that they were very willing as well as able to have taken what Revenge they would upon the Enemy, who were possessed with all the fears imaginable, and would hardly believe their own success, till they were assured that the Lord *Conway* with all his Army rested quietly in *Durham*, and then they presumed to enter into *Newcastle*.

But it seemed afterwards to be a full vindication of the Honor of the Nation, that, from this infamous Defeat at *Newburn*, to the last entire Conquest of *Scotland* by *Cromwell*, the Scots Army scarce performed one signal action against the *English* but were always beaten by great inequality of numbers as oft as they encountered, if they were not supported by *English* Troops.

In this posture the Earl of *Strafford* found the Army about *Durham*, bringing with him a body much bro-

B O O K
II.

The Scots
Army enter
Newcastle:

B O O K ken with his late sickness, which was not clearly
 II. shaken off, and a mind and temper confessing the
 dregs of it, which being marvellously provoked and
 inflamed with indignation at the late Dishonor, rendered him less gracious, that is, less inclined to make himself so, to the Officers, upon his first entrance into his Charge; it may be, in that mass of disorder, not quickly discerning to whom kindness and respect was justly due. But those who by this time no doubt were retained for that purpose, took that opportunity to incense the Army against him; and so far prevailed in it, that in a short time it was more inflamed against Him than against the Enemy; and was willing to have their want of Courage imputed to excess of Conscience, and that their being not satisfied in the grounds of the Quarrel was the only cause that they Fought no better. In this indisposition in all parts, the Earl found it necessary to retire with the Army to the skirts of *Yorkshire*, and himself to *York* (whither the King was come) leaving *Northumberland* and the Bishopric of *Durham* to be possessed by the Victors; who being abundantly satisfied with what they never hoped to possess, made no haste to advance their new Conquests.

The King's
 Army re-
 treating to-
 wards York.

It was very much wondered at, that the Earl of *Strafford*, upon his first arrival at the Army, called no persons to a Council of War for that shameful business of *Newburn*, or the more shameful quitting of *Newcastle* (where were not ten barrels of Musquet-Bullets, nor Moulds to make any; the Enemy having been long expected there, and our Army not less than a Month in that Town; time enough, if

nothing had been done before, to have made that place tenable for a longer time than it could have been (distressed) Whether the Earl saw that it would not have been in His power to have proceeded finally and exemplarily upon that inquisition, and therefore chose rather not to enter upon it; or whether he found the Guilt to be so involved, that though some were more Obnoxious, few were unfaulty; or whether he plainly discerned to what the Whole tended, and so would not trouble himself further in discovering of that, which, instead of a Reproach, might prove a Benefit to the persons concerned; I know not: but public Examination it never had.

The *Scots* needed not now advance their Progress; their Game was in the hands (no prejudice to their skill) of better Gamesters. Besides, they were not to make the least inroad, or to do the least trespass to their Neighbours of *Yorkshire*; who were as solicitous, that by any access or concurrence of the strength of that large County, they should not be driven farther back; and therefore instead of drawing their Trained Bands together (which of themselves would have been a greater or better Army than was to contend with them) to defend their County, or the Person of the King then with them, they prepared Petitions of advice and good counsel to him to call a Parliament, and to remove all other Grievances but the *Scots*. At the same time some Lords from *London* (of known, and since published affections to that Invasion) attended his Majesty at *York* with a Petition, signed by others, eight or ten in the whole, who were craftily persuaded by the

B O O K Leigers there, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hambden*, and Mr.
 II. *Saint John*, to concur in it, being full of duty and
 modesty enough; without considering that nothing
 else at that time could have done mischief; and so
 suffered themselves to be made Instruments towards
 those Ends which in truth they abhorred.

In these distractions and discomposures, between
 an Enemy proud and insolent in Success, an Army
 corrupted, or at least disheartened, a County muti-
 nous and inclined to the Rebels, at least not inclined
 to reduce them, and a Court infected with all three,
 the King could not but find himself in great straits;
 besides that his Treasure, which had hitherto kept
 that which was best from being worse, was quite
 spent. The raising and disbanding the first Army so
 unfortunately and wretchedly, had cost full three
 hundred thousand pounds, which the good hus-
 bandry of the Ministers of the Revenue had treasured
 up for an emergent occasion: and the borrowing so
 much money for the raising and supplying this latter
 Army, had drawn assignments and anticipations
 upon the Revenue to that degree, that there was
 not left wherewithal to defray the necessary expence
 of the King's Household. A Parliament would not
 be easily thought of, on this consideration, that it
 could not come together speedily enough to prevent
 that mischief to which it should be chiefly applied:
 for if we were not then in a condition to defend our-
 selves, in forty days (the soonest a Parliament could
 meet) an Army elate with Victory, when no Town
 was fortified, or Pass secured, might run over the
 Kingdom; especially the People being every where
 so like to bid them welcome.

A new Invention (not before heard of, that is, so old, that it had not been practised in some hundreds of Years) was thought of, to call a great Council of all the Peers of *England* to meet and attend his Majesty at *York*, that by their advice that great Affair might be the more prosperously managed. Whether it was then conceived, that the Honor of the King and Kingdom being so visibly upon the Stake, those Branches of Honor, which could not out-live the Root, would undoubtedly rescue and preserve it; or whether it was believed, that upon so extraordinary an occasion the Peers would suffice to raise money; as it was in that meeting proposed by one of them, "that They might give Subsidies:,, Whether the advice was given by those who had not the confidence in plain terms to propose a Parliament, but were confident that would produce one; or whether a Parliament was then resolved on, and They called to be obliged by it, and so to be obliged to some sober undertaking in it; or what other ground or intention there was of that Council, was never known: or whether indeed it was resolved out of trouble and agony of afflicted thoughts, because no other way occurred: But such a Resolution was taken, and Writs immediately issued under the Great Seal of *England* to all the Peers to attend his Majesty at *York* within twenty days; and preparations were made in all places accordingly.

Whilst the Lords are on their way thither, it will not be amiss to consider the general state of affairs in that time, and the Persons to whom the managing the Public Business was principally then, and for

B O O K

II.

A great Council
of the Peers
summoned to
York.

The state of
affairs at
Court at that
time.

B O O K some time had been intrusted ; that so upon view of
II. the materials, we may be the better enabled to guess how those dexterous work-men were like to employ themselves. It hath been said already, that upon the Dissolution of the Parliament but four months before, the Lords of the Council bestirred themselves in levying the Ship-money, and lending great sums of Money for the War

The Convocation continued after the Parliament : makes Canons

The Convocation - House (the regular and legal assembling of the Clergy) customarily beginning and ending with Parliaments , was, after the determination of the last , by a new Writ continued, and sate for the space of above a month under the proper title of a Synod ; made Canons, which was thought it might do, and gave Subsidies out of Parliament, and enjoined Oaths, which certainly it might Not do : in a word, did many things which in the best of times might have been questioned, and therefore were sure to be condemned in the worst (what fuel it was to the fire that ensued, shall be mentioned in its place) and drew the same Prejudice upon the whole body of the Clergy, to which before only some few Clergy-men were exposed.

The Papists activity and boldness about that time.

The Papists had for many Years enjoyed a great calm, being upon the matter absolved from the Severest parts of the Law, and dispensed with for the Gentlest ; and were grown only a part of the Revenue, without any probable danger of being made a sacrifice to the Law. They were looked upon as good Subjects at Court, and as good Neighbours in the Country ; all the restraints and reproaches of former times being forgotten. But they were not

prudent managers of this Prosperity, being too elate and transported with the Protection and Connivance they received: though I am persuaded their Numbers increased not, their Pomp and Boldness did, to that degree, that, as if they affected to be thought dangerous to the State, they appeared more publicly, entertained and urged Conferences more avowedly, than had been before known: they resorted at common hours to Malls to *Somerſet* House, and returned thence in great multitudes, with the same barefacedness as others came from the *Savoy* or other neighbour Churches: they attempted and sometimes obtained Profelytes of weak uninformed Ladies, with such circumstances as provoked the Rage, and destroyed the Charity of great and powerful Families, which longed for their Suppression: they grew not only secret Contrivers, but public professed Promoters of, and Ministers in, the most odious, and the most grievous Projects: as in that of Soap, formed, framed, and executed, by almost a Corporation of that Religion; which under that licence and notion, might be, and were suspected to be, qualified for other agitations. The Priests, and such as were in Orders (Orders that in themselves were punishable by Death) were departed from their former modesty and fear, and were as willing to be known as to be hearkened to; insomuch as a Jesuit at *Paris* who was coming for *England*, had the boldness to visit the Ambassador there, who knew him to be such, and offering his service, acquainted him with his Journey, as if there had been no Laws There for his reception. And for the most invidious Protection and Counten-

B O O K ance of that whole Party, a Public Agent from *Rome*
II. (first Mr *Con* a *Scottish* man, and after him the Count
of *Rozetti* an *Italian*) resided at *London* in great Port;
publicly visited the Court; and was avowedly reformed to by the Catholics of all conditions, over whom he assumed a particular jurisdiction; and was catessed and presented magnificently by the Ladies of Honor who inclined to that Profession. They had likewise, with more noise and vanity than prudence would have admitted, made Public Collections of Money to a considerable sum, upon some recommendations from the Queen, and to be by her Majesty presented as a free-will-offering from his Roman-Catholic Subjects to the King, for the carrying on the War against the *Scots*; which drew upon Them the rage of that Nation, with little devotion and reverence to the Queen herself; as if She desired to suppress the Protestant Religion in one Kingdom as well as the other, by the Arms of the Roman-Catholics. To conclude, they carried themselves so, as if they had been suborned by the *Scots* to root out their Own Religion.

The persons
then composing the Committee of State;

The bulk and burden of the State-affairs, whereby the Envy attended them likewise, lay principally upon the shoulders of the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *strafford*, and the Lord *Cottington*; some others being joined to them, as the Earl of *Northumberland* for ornament, the Lord Bishop of *London* for his place, being Lord high Treasurer of *England*, the two Secretaries, Sir *Henry Vane* and Sir *Francis Windebank*, for service and communication of Intelligence; only the Marquis of *Hamilton* indeed,

indeed, by his skill and interest, bore as great a part as he had a mind to do, and had the skill to meddle no farther than he had a mind. These Persons made up the Committee of State (which was reproachfully after called *the Junta*, and enviously then in the Court *the Cabinet Council*) who were upon all occasions, when the Secretaries received any extraordinary Intelligence, or were to make any extraordinary Despatch, or as often otherwise as was thought fit, to meet: whereas the Body of the Council observed set days and hours for Their meeting, and came not else together except specially summoned.

But, as I said before, the Weight and the Envy of all great matters, rested upon the three first. The Arch-Bishop, besides the sole disposal of whatsoever concerned the Church, which was an invidious province, having been from the death of the Earl of *Portland* (at which time he was made Commissioner of the Treasury) more engaged in the Civil business than I am persuaded he desired to be; and throughout the whole business passionately concerned for the Church of *Scotland*, and so, conversant in those transactions: by all which means, besides that he had usually about him an uncourtly quickness, if not sharpness, and did not sufficiently value what men said or thought of him; a more than ordinary Prejudice and Uncharitableness was contracted against him; to which the new Canons, and the circumstances in making them, made no small addition.

The Earl of *Strafford* had for the space of almost six Years entirely governed *Ireland*, where he had

BOOK II. been compelled, upon reason of State, to exercise many acts of Power; and had indulged some to his own appetite and passion, as in the cases of the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord *Mount-Norris*; the first of which was *satis pro imperio*, but the latter, if it had not concerned a person notoriously unbeloved, and so the more unpitied, would have been thought the most extravagant piece of Sovereignty, that in a time of Peace had been ever executed by any Subject. When and why he was called out of *Ireland* to assist in Council here, I have touched before. He was a man of too high and severe a deportment, and too great a contemner of Ceremony to have many Friends at Court, and therefore could not but have Enemies enough: he had Two that professed it, the Earl of *Holland*, and Sir *Henry Vane*; the first could never forget or forgive a sharp sudden Saying of his (for I cannot call it Counsel or Advice) when there had been some difference a few years before between his Lordship and the Lord *Weston*, in the managing whereof the Earl of *Holland* was confined to his House, "That the King should do well to cut off his head:" which had been aggravated (if such an injury were capable of aggravation) by a succession of Discountenances mutually performed between them to that time. Sir *Henry Vane* had not far to look back to the time that the Earl had with great earnestness opposed his being made Secretary, and prevailed for above a month's delay; which, though it was done with great reason and justice by the Earl, on the behalf of an old Fellow-servant, and his very good Friend Sir *John Coke* (who was to be, and after-

wards was, removed to let Him in) yet the justice to the One, lessened not the sense of unkindness to the Other: after which, or about the same time (which it may be made the other to be the more virulently remembered) being to be made Earl of *Strafford*, he would needs in that Patent have a new creation of a Barony, and was made Baron of *Raby*, a House belonging to Sir *Henry Vane*, and an Honor he made account should belong to himself; which was an act of the most unnecessary provocation (though he contemned the man with marvellous scorn) that I have known, and I believe was the chief occasion of the loss of his head. To these a Third adversary (like to be more pernicious than the other Two) was added, the Earl of *Effex*, naturally enough disinclined to his Person, his Power, and his Parts, upon some rough carriage of the Earl of *Strafford's* towards the late Earl of *Saint Albans*, to whom he had a friendship, and therefore openly professed to be revenged. Lastly, he had an Enemy more terrible than all the other, and like to be more fatal, the whole *Scottish* Nation, provoked by the Declaration he had procured of *Ireland*, and some high carriage and expressions of his against them in that Kingdom. So that He had reason to expect as hard measure from such Popular Councils as he saw were like to be in request, as all those Disadvantages could create towards him. And yet no doubt his confidence was so great in Himself, and in the form of Justice (which he could not suspect would be so totally confounded) that he never apprehended a greater censure than a Sequestration from all Public

B O O K Employments, in which it is probable he had abundant
 II. satiety : and this confidence could not have proceeded
 (considering the full knowledge he had of his Judges)
 but from a proportionable stock of , and satisfaction
 in, his own Innocence.

The Lord
 Gottington

The Lord *Gottington*, though he was a very wise man , yet having spent the greatest part of his Life in *Spain*, and so having been always subject to the unpopular imputation of being of the *Spanish* Faction , indeed was better skilled to make his Master great abroad , than gracious at home ; and being Chancellor of the Echequer from the time of the Dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth Year , had his hand in many hard shifts for Money ; and had the disadvantage of being suspected at least a Favourer of the Papists (though that Religion thought itself nothing beholding to him) by which he was in great umbrage with the People : and then though he were much less hated than either of the other two, and the less, because there was nothing of kindness between the Arch-Bishop and him ; and indeed very few particulars of moment could be proved against him : yet there were two objections against him , which rendered him as odious as any to the great Reformers ; the one , that he was not to be reconciled to or made use of in any of their designs ; the other , that he had two good Offices , without the having of which their Reformation could not be perfect : for besides being Chancellor of the Exchequer , he was likewise Master of the Wards , and had raised the Revenue of that Court to the King to be much greater than it had ever been before His

administration; by which Husbandry all the rich Families of *England*, of Noblemen and Gentlemen, were exceedingly incensed, and even indevoted to the Crown, looking upon what the Law had intended for their Preservation, to be now applied to their Destruction; and therefore resolved to take the first opportunity to ravish that Jewel out of the Royal Diadem, though it were fastened There by the known Law, upon as unquestionable a Right, as the Subject enjoyed any thing that was most his Own.

The Marquis
of Hamilton.

The Marquis of *Hamilton*, if he had been then weighed in the Scales of the People's hatred, was at that time thought to be in greater danger than any one of the other; for he had more Enemies, and fewer Friends, in Court or Country, than any of the other. His interest in the King's affection was at least equal, and thought to be superior, to any man's; and he had received as invidious instances, and marks of those affections. He had more out-faced the Law in bold Projects and Pressures upon the People, than any other man durst have presumed to do, as especially in the projects of Wine and Iron; about the last of which, and the most gross, he had a sharp contest with the Lord *Coventry* (who was a good Wrestler too) and at last compelled him to let it pass the Seal: the entire profit of which always reverted to Himself, and to such as were his Pensioners. He had been the sole manager of the business of *Scotland* till the Pacification; the readiest man, though Then absent, to advise that Pacification, and the most visible Author of the breach of it. Lastly, the Discoveries between

B O O K the Lord *Mackey* and *David Ramsay*, by which the
 11. Marquis was accused of designing to make himself
 King of *Scotland*, were fresh in many men's memories,
 and the late passages in that Kingdom had revived it
 in others; so that He might reasonably have expected
 as ill a presage for himself from those Fortune-tellers,
 as the most Melancholic of the other: but as he
 had been always most careful and solicitous for Him-
 self, so he was most likely to be apprehensive on
 his Own behalf, and to provide accordingly.

And here I cannot omit a Story which I received
 from a very good hand, by which his great subtilty
 and industry for himself may appear, and was indeed
 as great a piece of Art (if it were Art) as I believe
 will be found amongst the modern Politicians. After
 the calling the Council of the Peers at *York* was re-
 solved upon, and a little before the time of their
 appearance, the Marquis came to the King, and
 with some cloudiness (which was not unnatural) and
 trouble in his countenance, he desired his Majesty
 to give him leave to Travel; the King surpris'd was
 equally troubled at it, and demanded his reason:
 he told him, "He well foresaw a Storm, in which His
 " shipwreck was most probable amongst others; and
 " that he, never having any thing before his eyes
 " but his Majesty's Service, or in his vows, but an
 " entire simple obedience to His commands, might
 " happily by his Own unskilfulness in what was fit by
 " any other rule, be more obnoxious than other men;
 " and therefore, that with his Majesty's leave, he
 " would withdraw himself from the hazard at least of
 " that Tempest." The King, most graciously inclined
 to him, bid him " be most confident, that though he

" might (which he was resolved to do) gratify his
 " People with any reasonable Indulgence, he would
 " never fail his good Servants in that protection
 " which they had equal reason to expect from him."
 The Marquis with some quickness replied, " that
 " the knowledge of that gracious disposition in his
 " Majesty, was the principal cause that he besought
 " leave to be absent; and that otherwise he would
 " not so far desert his own Innocence, which he was
 " sure could be only sullied and discredited with In-
 " firmities and Indiscretions, not tainted or defaced
 " with Design and Malice." But (said he) " I know
 " your Majesty's goodness will interpose for me to
 " your Own prejudice: and I will rather run any
 " Fortune, from whence I may again return to serve
 " you, than be (as I foresee I should be) so immediate
 " a cause of damage and mischief to so Royal a
 " Master." He told him, " that he knew there were
 " no less fatal Arrows aimed at the Arch-Bishop of
 " *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Strafford* than at himself;
 " and that he had advertised the first, and advised
 " the last, to take the same course of withdrawing,
 " whereby he meant to secure himself: but (he said)
 " the Earl was too great-hearted to Fear, and he
 " doubted the other was too bold to Fly."

The King was much disturbed with the probability
 and reason of what was said; which the other as
 soon observing, " There is (said he) one way by
 " which I might secure myself without leaving
 " the Kingdom, and by which your Majesty, as
 " these times are like to go, might receive some ad-
 " vantage; but it is so contrary to my Nature, and

BOOK
11.

“ will be so scandalous to my Honor in the opinion
“ of men, that, for my own part, I had rather run my
“ Fortune.” His Majesty, glad that such an expedient
might be found (as being unwilling to hazard his
Safety against so much reason as had been spoken, by
compelling him to stay; and as unwilling, by suffering
him to go, to confess an apprehension that he might
be imposed upon) Impatiently asked “ What th t way
“ was ?” The Marquis replied, “ That he might
“ endear himself to the other Party by promising his
“ Service to them, and seeming to concur with
“ them in Opinions and Designs; the which he had
“ reason to believe the principal Persons would not
“ be averse to, in hope that his supposed interest in
“ his Majesty’s opinion might be looked upon as of
“ moment to them for their particular Recommendations.
“ But, he said this he knew would be looked
“ upon with so much Jealousy by other men, and
“ shortly with that Reproach, that he might by
“ degrees be lessened even in his Majesty’s own trust;
“ and therefore it was a province he had no mind
“ to undertake :” and so renewed his Suit again very
earnestly for leave to Travel.

The King for the reasons aforesaid, much delighted
with this Expedient, and believing likewise, that
in truth he might by this means frequently receive
Informations of great use, and having a singular
esteem of the Fidelity and Affection of the Marquis,
told him positively, “ That he should not leave him;
“ that he was not only contented, but commanded
“ him to ingratiate himself by any means with the
“ other People;” and assured him “ that it should
“ not be in any body’s power to infuse the least

“ jealousy of him into his Royal breast.” The which resolution his Majesty observed so constantly, that the other enjoyed the liberty of doing whatsoever he found necessary for his own behoof; and with wonderful craft and low condescensions to the ends and the appetites of very inferior people, and by seasonable insinuations to several leading persons (of how different inclinations soever) of such particulars as were grateful to them, and seemed to advance their distinct and even contrary Interests and Pretences, he grew to have no less credit in the Parliament than with the *Scottish* Commissioners; and was with great vigilance, industry, and dexterity, preserved from any Public Reproach in those charges which served to ruin other men, and which with more reason and justice might have been applied to Him than any other; and yet for a long time he did not incur the jealousy of the King; to whom he likewise gave many advertisements, which if there had been persons enough who would have concurred in prevention, might have proved of great use.

In this state and condition were Things and Persons when the Lords came to *York* to the great Council in *September*; and the first day of their meeting (that the counsel might not seem to arise from them who were resolved to give it, and that the Queen might receive the honor of it; who, the King said, had by a Letter advised him to it; as his Majesty exceedingly desired to endear her to the People) the King declared to them, “ that he was resolved to call a Parliament to assemble at *Westminster* the third day of *November* following; which was as soon as was

B O O K
II.

The King declares to the great Council at York his resolution to call a Parliament.

BOOK " possible." So the first work was done to their hands, and they had now nothing to do but to dispose matters in order against that time, which could not well be done without a more overt conversation with the *Scots*. For though there was an intercourse made, yet it passed for the most part through hands whom the chief had no mind to trust: as the Lord *Savile*; whom his bitter hatred to the Earl of *Strafford*, and as passionate hope of the Presidentship of the North, which the Earl had made applicable to any end; but otherwise a person of so ill a fame, that many desired not to mingle in counsels with him. For, besides his no reputation, they begun now to know that he had no long held correspondence with the *Scots* before their coming in, and invited them to enter the Kingdom with an Army; in order to which, and to raise his own credit, he had counterfeited the hands of some other Lords, and put their names to some undertakings of joining with the *Scots*; and therefore they were resolved to take that negotiation out of his hands (without drawing any prejudice upon him for his presumption) which they had quickly an opportunity to do. For the first day of the Lords meeting, a Petition is presented to his Majesty full of dutiful and humble expressions from the *Scots*, who well knew their time, and had always (how rough and undutiful soever their Actions were) given the King as good and as submissive Words as can be imagined. This Petition, full of as much Submission as a Victory itself could produce (as urged by some lords) could not but beget a Treaty, and a Treaty was resolved on speedily to be at *Rippon*, a place in the King's

The Scots Petition the King: upon it a Treaty appointed at Rippon.

Quarters: but then, special care was taken, by caution given to his Majesty, that no such ungracious persons might be intrusted by him in this Treaty as might beget Jealousies in the *Scots*, and so render it fruitless: and therefore the Earls of *Hertford*, *Bedford*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Essex*, *Holland*, *Bristol*, and *Berkshire*, The Lords *Mandevile*, *Wharton*, *Dunsmore*, *Brook*, *Savile*, *Paulet*, *Howard* of *Esrick* (the Lord *Say* being sick, and so not present at *York*) were chosen by the King; all Popular men, and not one of them of much interest in the Court, but only the Earl of *Holland*, who was known to be fit for any counsel that should be taken against the Earl of *Strafford*, who had among them scarce a Friend or person civilly inclined towards him.

When these Commissioners from the King arrived at *Rippon*, there came others from the *Scots* Army of a quality much inferior, there being not above two noblemen, whereof the Lord *Lowden* was the chief, two or three Gentlemen and Citizens, and *Alexander Henderson* their Metropolitan, and two or three other Clergy-men. The *Scots* applied themselves most particularly to the Earls of *Bedford*, *Essex*, *Holland*, and the Lord *Mandevile*, though in public they seemed equally to caress them all; and besides the duty they professed to the King in the most submissive expressions of reverence that could be used, they made great and voluminous expressions “ of their affections to the Kingdom and People “ of *England*; and remembered the infinite obligations they had from time to time received from “ this Nation; especially the assistance they had

The Commis-
sioners meet
and transact.

B O O K “ from it in their reformation of Religion, and
II. “ their attaining the light of the Gospel; and there-
“ fore as it could never fall into Their hearts to
“ be ungrateful to it, so they hoped that the good
“ People of *England* would not entertain any ill
“ opinion of their coming into this Kingdom at
“ this time in a Hostile manner, as if they had
“ the least purpose of doing wrong to any parti-
“ cular person, much less to alter any thing in the
“ Government of the Kingdom; protesting that they
“ had the same tenderneſs of Their Laws and Li-
“ berties, and Privileges, as of their Own; and
“ that they did hope, as the Oppreſſions upon
“ their native Country, both in their Civil and
“ Spiritual Rights, had obliged them to This man-
“ ner of Addreſs to the King, to whom all acceſs
“ had been denied them by the power of their Ene-
“ mies; ſo, that this very manner of their coming
“ in might be for the good of this Kingdom, and
“ the benefit of the Subjects thereof, in the giving
“ them opportunities to vindicate their own Li-
“ berties and Laws; which, though not Yet ſo
“ much invaded as thoſe of *Scotland* had been, were
“ enough infringed by Thoſe very men who had
“ brought ſo great Miſery and Confuſion upon
“ that Kingdom; and who intended, when they
“ had finiſhed their work There, and in *Ireland*,
“ to eſtabliſh the ſame ſlavery in *England* as they
“ had brought upon the other two Kingdoms. All
“ which would be prevented by the Removal of
“ three or four Perſons from about the King;
“ whoſe Own gracious diſpoſition and inclination

“ would bountifully provide for the Happiness of B O O K
 “ all his Dominions, if Those ill men had no influ. II.
 “ ence upon his Counsels.”

There was not a man of all the *English* Commissioners to whom this kind of discourse was not grateful enough, and who did not promise to Himself some convenience that the Alterations which were like to happen might produce. And with those Lords with whom they desired to enter into a greater confidence, they conferred more openly and particularly, of the three Persons towards whom their greatest prejudice was, the Arch-Bishop, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Marquis of *Hamilton* (for in their whole discourses they seemed equally at least incensed against Him, as against either of the other two) whom they resolved should be removed from the King. They spake in confidence “ of the
 “ excess of the Queen’s power, which in respect
 “ of her Religion, and of the Persons who had
 “ most interest in her, ought not to prevail so much
 “ upon the King as it did in all Affairs. That the
 “ King could never be happy; nor his Kingdom
 “ flourish, till he had such Persons about him in
 “ all Places of trust, as were of Honor and Expe-
 “ rience in affairs, and of good Fortunes and Inter-
 “ ests in the affections of the People; who would
 “ always inform his Majesty that his own greatness
 “ and happiness consisted in the execution of Justice,
 “ and the happiness of his Subjects; and who are
 “ known to be zealous for the preservation and
 “ advancement of the Protestant Religion, which
 “ every honest man thought at present to be in

BOOK II. “ great danger, by the exorbitant power of the
 “ Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and some other Bishops
 “ who were governed by him.” It was no hard
 matter to insinuate into the Persons with whom
 they held this discourse, that They were the very
 men who they wished should be in most credit about
 the King; and they concluded that their affections
 were so great to this Kingdom, and they so desired
 that all Grievances might be redressed here, that
 though they should receive present Satisfaction in
 all that concerned Themselves, they would not yet
 return, till provision might likewise be made for
 the just interest of *England*, and the reformation
 of what was amiss There in reference to Church
 and State.

This appeared so hopeful a Model to most of
 the King's Commissioners (who having no method
 prescribed to them to treat in, were indeed sent
 only to hear what the *Scots* would propose, the
 King himself then intending to determine what should
 be granted to them) they never considered the Truth
 of any of their allegations, nor desired to be in-
 formed of the Ground of their proceedings; but
 patiently hearkened to all they said in public, of
 which they intended to give an account to the
 King; and willingly heard all they said in private,
 and made such use of it as they thought most con-
 duced to their own ends. The *Scottish* Commissioners
 proposed, “ that for the avoiding the effusion of
 “ Christian blood, there might be some way found
 “ to prevent all acts of Hostility on either side;
 “ which could not possibly be done, except some

‘ order was given for the payment of Their Army, B O O K
 “ which was yet restrained to close and narrow II.
 “ Quarters. And the truth is, they were in daily
 fear that those Quarters would have been beaten
 up, and so the ill courage of their men too easily
 discovered, who were more taught to sing Psalms,
 and to Pray, than to use their Arms; their hopes
 of prevailing being, from the beginning, founded
 upon an assurance that they should not be put to
 Fight.

There had been in that infamous rout at *Newburn*
 two or three Officers of Quality taken Prisoners,
 who endeavouring to charge the Enemy with the
 courage they ought to do, being deserted by their
 Troops could not avoid falling into the *Scots* hands;
 two of which were *Wilmot*, who was Commissary-
 General of the Horse, and *O Neal* who was Major
 of a Regiment; both Officers of name and reputa-
 tion, and of good esteem in the Court with all
 Those who were incensed against the Earl of *Straf-*
ford, towards whom they were both very indevoted.
 These Gentlemen were well known to several of the
 principal Commanders in the *Scots* Army (who had
 served together with them in *Holland* under the
 Prince of *Orange*) and were treated with great civi-
 lity in their Camp; and when the Commissioners
 came to *Rippon*, they brought them with them,
 and presented them to the King by his Commis-
 sioners, to whom they were very acceptable; and
 did those who delivered them more Service by the
 Reports they made of them in the Army when they
 returned to their Charges, and in the Court, than
 they could have done by remaining Prisoners with

B O O K them; and contributed very much to the irreconciling the Army to the Earl of *Strafford*, who was to command it.

II.

After few days the Commissioners returned to the King at *York*, and gave him an account of what had passed, and of the extraordinary affection of the *Scots* to his Majesty's Service; and *Wilmot* and *O Neal* magnified the good discipline and order observed in the Army, and made their numbers to be believed much superior to what in truth they were.

The Coun-
fellors about
the King at
York.

Three of the Commissioners, and no more, were of the King's Council, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Holland*, who were all inspired by the *Scots*, and liked well all that they pretended to desire. Besides those, the King had no body to consult with but the Lord Keeper *Finch*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and Sir *Harry Vane* principal Secretary of State. The first of which, the Lord Keeper, was obnoxious to so many reproaches, that though his affection and fidelity was very entire to the King, all his care was to provoke no more Enemies, and to ingratiate himself to as many of those as he perceived were like to be able to protect him, which he knew the King would not be able to do; and towards this he labored with all industry and dexterity. The Duke of *Richmond* was young, and used to discourse with his Majesty in his Bed-chamber rather than at the Council-Board, and a man of Honor and fidelity in all places; and in no degree of confidence with his Country-men, because he would not admit himself into any of their Intrigues. The

Marquis

Marquis had leave to be wary, and would give his Enemies no new advantages.

Nor indeed was there any man's advice of much credit with the King, but that of the Earl of *Strafford*; who had no reason to declare his opinion upon so nice a subject in the presence of the Earl of *Holland* and Sir *Harry Vane*; and thought there was only one way to be pursued (which was not to be Communicated at the Council) and that was to drive the *Scots* out of the Kingdom by the Army: and without considering what was done at the Treaty (which had not yet agreed upon any Cessation) he sent a good Party of Horse, commanded by Major *Smith*, to fall upon a *Scottish* Quarter in the Bishopric of *Durham*; who defeated two or three of their Troops, and took all their Officers Prisoners, and made it manifest enough that the Kingdom might be rid of the rest, if it were vigorously pursued; which the Earl of *Strafford* heartily intended. But *Lesly*, the *Scottish* General, complained "that He himself had " forborn to make any such attempt out of respect " to the Treaty;" and the *English* Commissioners thought Themselves neglected, and affronted by it. And when it was found that his Officer who conducted that Enterprize was a Roman-Catholic, it made more noise; and they prevailed with the King to restrain his General from giving out any more such Orders.

The King begun so far to dislike the temper of the Commissioners, that he thought the Parliament would be more jealous of his Honor, and more sen-

BOOK

II.

sible of the Indignities he suffered by the *Scots*, than the Commissioners appeared to be; and therefore he sent them back to *Rippon* again to renew the Treaty, and to conclude a Cessation of Arms upon as good terms as they could; so that the *Scots* Army might not advance into *Yorkshire*, nor enlarge their Quarters any way beyond what they were already possessed of: and this concession being agreed to, they should not enter upon any other particulars, but adjourn the Treaty to *London*; which was the only thing the *Scots* desired, and without This they could never have brought their designs to pass. When the other Lords returned to *Rippon*, the Earl of *Pembroke* (as a man of a great Fortune, and at that time very Popular) was sent with two or three other Lords to *London*, with a Letter from the King, and a subscription from the Lords Commissioners of the Treaty (which was then more powerful) to borrow two hundred thousand pounds from the City, for the payment of both Armies whilst the Cessation and Treaty should continue; “which they hoped would quickly be at an end, and the *Scots* return into their own Country.” The City was easily persuaded to furnish the Money, to be repaid out of the first that should be raised by the Parliament; which was very shortly to meet.

A Cessation
agreed on.

The Commissioners at *Rippon* quickly agreed upon the Cessation; and were not unwilling to have allowed fifty thousand pounds a month for the support of the *Scots* Army, when they did assign but thirty thousand pounds a month for the payment of the King's; and to have taken the *Scottish* Commis-

sioners words for their Musters, which made their numbers so much superior to the other. but that sum of fifty thousand pounds a month was afterwards reduced to about five-and-twenty thousand; and the whole amounting to above fifty thousand pounds a month, was a sum too great for the Kingdom to pay long, as was then generally believed. It was pretended that two months would put an end to the Treaty; so that the two hundred thousand pounds, which the City had supplied, would discharge all the Disbanding: and in this hope the King confirmed the Cessation, and sent a safe Conduct for such Commissioners as the Scots should think fit to send to London for the carrying on the Treaty.

The Treaty
adjourned to
London,
whither the
King returns.

All which being done, the King and the Lords left *York*, that they might be at *London* before the beginning of the Parliament; the Earl of *Strafford* staying still in the North to put the Army into as good a posture as he could, and to suppress the Mutinous spirit it was inclined to; and if it were possible, to dispose that great County (of which he had the entire Command) to a better temper towards the King's Service, and to a greater indignation towards the Scots; of whom they did not use to have too charitable an opinion. But in both these applications he underwent great mortifications; the Officers of the Army every day asking his leave to repair to *London*, being chosen to serve in Parliament; and when he denied to give them Passes, they went away without them: and the Gentleman of the Country who had most depended upon him, and been obliged by him,

B O O K withdrawing their application and attendance, and
II. entering into Combination with his greatest Enemies against him.

It is not to be denied, the King was in very great Straits, and had it not in his power absolutely to chuse which way he would go; and well foresaw, that a Parliament in that conjuncture of affairs would not apply natural and proper Remedies to the Disease: for though it was not imaginable it would run the courses if afterwards did, yet it was visible enough he must resign very much to their affections and appetite (which were not like to be contained within any modest bounds) and therefore no question his Majesty did not think of calling a Parliament at first, but was wrought to it by degrees: Yet the great Council could not but produce the other; where the unskilfulness and passion of some for want of discerning Consequences, and a general sharpness and animosity against Persons, did more mischief than the power or malice of Those who had a formed design of Confusion: for without doubt that Fire at that time (which did shortly after burn the whole Kingdom) might have been covered under a bushel. So as in truth there was no Counsel so necessary then, as for the King to have continued in his Army, and to have drawn none thither but such as were more afraid of dishonor than danger; and to have trusted the Justice and Power of the Law with suppressing of Tumults, and quieting Disorders in his Rear.

It is strange, and had somewhat of a Judgment from Heaven in it, that all the Industry and Learning

of the late years had been bestowed in finding out and evincing, that in case of Necessity any extraordinary way for Supply was Lawful; and upon that ground had proceeded when there was no Necessity; and now when the Necessity was apparent, Money must be levied in the ordinary course of Parliament, which was then more extraordinary than the other had been; as *York* must be defended from an Enemy within twenty-five miles of it, by Money to be given at *London* six Weeks after, and to be gathered within six Months. It had been only the season and evidence of Necessity that had been questioned; and the view of it in a Perspective of State at a distance that no eyes could reach, denied to be ground enough for an Imposition: as no man could pull down his Neighbour's house because it stood next Furze, or Thatch, or some combustible matter which might take fire; though he might do it when that combustible matter was really a-fire. But it was never denied that *flagrante bello*, when an Enemy had actually invaded the Kingdom, and so the Necessity both seen and felt, all men's goods are the goods of the Public, to be applied to the Public safety, and as carefully to be repaired by the Public stock. And it is very probable (since the Factions within, and the Correspondence abroad was so apparent, that a Parliament then called would do the business of the *Scots*, and of Those who invited them hither) that if the King had positively declared, that he would have no Parliament as long as that Army staid in *England*, but as soon as they were retired into their

B O O K own Country He would Summon one, and refer
II. all matters to Their advice, and even be advised
by Them in the composing the distractions of *Scotland*: I say, it is probable, that they would either
willingly have left the Kingdom, or speedily have
been compelled; there being at that time an Army
in *Ireland* (as was said before) ready to have visited
Scotland.

Neither would the Indisposition of the King's
Army (which was begot only by those infusions,
that there must of necessity be a Parliament, which
would prevent farther Fighting) have lasted, when
they found those Authors confuted; for the Army
was constituted of good Officers, which were more
capable of being deceived by their Friends, than
imposed upon by their Enemies; and they had their
Soldiers in good devotion, and the business of
Newburn would rather have spurred them on than
restrained them. And it had been much the best
course that could have been taken, if, after the fright
at *Newburn*, the King as well as the Earl of *Strafford*
had made haste to *Durham*, and kept that Post, with-
out staying at *York*; and after some exemplary Justice
and Disgrace upon the chief Officers who were
Faulty, till the Army had recovered their Spirits
(which in a very short time it did with shame and
indignation enough) had marched directly against
the *Scots*; by which they would have speedily dis-
possessed them of their new Conquest, and forced
them to have run distracted into their own Coun-
try; as may be reasonably concluded from their

behaviour whenever they were assaulted afterwards by the *English*. B O O K II.

And it is as strange that the experience of the last Summer, when the attendance of so great a number of the Nobility (who had no mind to the War, and as little devotion to the Court) was the true ground and cause of that ridiculous Pacification, did not prevail with the King never to Convene the same company to him again; which could do him very little good if they had desired it; and could not but do him more harm than even the worst of them at that time intended to do: For it might very easily have been foreseen, that the calling so many discontented, or disobliged, or disaffected men together, with a liberty to consult and advise, very few whereof had that inclination and reverence for the Person of the King they ought to have had, though scarce any of them had at that time that mischief in their hearts which they afterwards discovered against him, or indeed had the least purpose to Rebel: I say the calling such men together, could not but make men much worse than they came, and put worse thoughts into their heads than they brought with them, when the Miscarriage as well as the Misfortune of the Court would be the common argument and discourse; and when they would quickly discern, that it was like to be in every one of Their powers to contribute to the Destruction, at least to the Disgrace of Men they had no kindness for, and most of them great animosity against.

But the King was without the presence and attend-

BOOK II. ance of any Man in whose Judgment and Wisdom he had a full confidence; for the Earl of *Strafford* was at the Army; and they who first proposed the calling the Peers, knew well enough that the King knew Parliaments too well to be inclined to call one if they should propose it; and therefore They proposed another expedient, which he knew not; and so was surpris'd with the advice (which he thought could do no harm) and gave direction for the issuing out of the Writs, before he enough considered whether it might not in truth produce some mischief he had not well thought of; as he quickly found. Nor did the *Scots* themselves resolve to give him more disquiet in the ensuing Parliament, than the major part of his great Council that he brought together resolved to concur with them in: and with that disposition, which they could never have contracted if they had remained by themselves, they all hastened to the place where they might do the Mischief they intended.

The next Error to this was, that at the meeting of the great Council at *York*, and before any consent to the Treaty at *Rippon*, there was not a state made, and information given of the whole Proceedings in *Scotland*, and thereupon some debate and judgment by the whole Council before the Sixteen departed, for their information and instruction: and this had been strangely omitted before at the Pacification, insomuch as many who had been employed in that first at *the Berkes*, and in the last at *Rippon*, confessed that none of them (and they were of the Prime Quality) then did, or ever after, know any

thing of the Laws and Customs of that Kingdom (by which they might have judged whether the King had exceeded his just power, or any thing of the matter of Fact in the several transactions) but what they had received at those meetings from the Persons who were naturally to make their own defence, and so by accusing others to make their own case the more plausible; in which could not be expected they would mention any thing to their own disadvantage.

By Them they were told “ of a Liturgy imposed upon them by their Bishops, contrary to, or without Act of Parliament, with strange circumstances of Severity and Rigor: of some clauses in that Liturgy, different from that of the Church of *England*; ” with pretty smart Comments of advice, and Animadversions upon those Alterations: “ of a Book of Canons, in which an extraordinary and extravagant power was asserted to the Bishops: of a High-Commission-Court, which exceeded all limits, and censured all degrees of men: of the insolent Speeches of this Bishop to that Nobleman, and of the ill Life of another: of their Own great Humility and Duty to their sacred Sovereign, without whose Favor and Protection they would not live: ” and lastly, “ of their several most submissive Addresses, by Petition and all other ways to his Majesty; being desirous, when their Grievances were but heard, to lay Themselves and their Complaints at his Royal Feet, and to be most entirely disposed by him in such manner, as to His wisdom alone should be

B O O K “ thought fit: but that by the power and interpo-
 II. “ sition of their Adversaries, all their Supplications
 “ had been rejected, and They never yet admitted
 “ to be heard.”

With these and the like Artifices the good Lords were so wrought upon, and transported, that they easily Consented to whatsoever was proposed; nor was there any Proposition made and insisted on by them at the first or second Treaty, which was not for the matter fully Consented to: whereas, if their Lordships had been fully advertised of the whole truth (though there had been some Inadvertencies and Incogitancy in the circumstances of the transaction) his Majesty had full power, by the Laws of *Scotland* then in force, to make that Reformation he intended. All their Petitions and Addresses had found most gracious acceptance, and received most gracious Answers. But on the contrary, They had invaded all the Rights of the Crown, altered the Government, affronted the Magistrates and Ministers of Justice, and his Majesty's own Regal Authority, with unheard of Insolences and Contempts; rejected all his offers of Grace and Pardon, and without cause or provocation denounced War against him; besieged and taken the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and other Places which held for his Majesty. I say, if This had been made as evident to them as surely it might have been made, it is not possible but those Noble persons would have preserved themselves from being deluded by them; at least many of the Inconveniencies which after ensued would have been prevented, if the form and

method of their Proceedings had been prescribed, B O O K
or better looked into. II.

But it must be confessed, that in that conjuncture such necessary Evidence and Information could very hardly be given: for though it must not be doubted that there were many particular Persons of Honor of that Nation who abhorred the Outrages which were committed, and retained within their own breasts very Loyal wishes for his Majesty's Prosperity; yet it cannot be denied that those persons, who by the Places they held (of King's Advocate, and other Offices) ought to have made that Information of matter of Law, and matter of Fact, were Themselves the most active Promoters of the Rebellion; and the Defection was so general, and so few declared, or were active on his Majesty's behalf, that they who were not corrupted in their inward Fidelity, were so Terrified, that they durst not appear in any Office that might provoke Those who solely had the power and the will to destroy them.

The last and most confounding Error was the removing the Treaty to *London*, and upon any terms consenting that the *Scottish* Commissioners should reside there before a Peace concluded. By which means, they had not only opportunity to publish all their Counsels and Directions in their Sermons to the People (who resorted thither in incredible numbers) and to give their Advice, from time to time, to Those of the *English* who knew not so well yet to compass their Own ends, but were ready (when any business was too big and unwieldy

B O O K to be managed by the few who were yet thoroughly engaged) to interpose in the name of Their Nation, and with reference to things or Persons to make such demands from and on the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as under no other style would have received any countenance: and this brought that universal Terror with it (as will appear to the life in the process of this History) upon Those of nearest relation to the King's Service, as well as Those at a greater distance, who clearly discerned and detested the Villany and Wickedness of those transactions, that their wariness and wisdom could not be great enough to preserve them, if they did not stupidly look on without seeming to understand what they could in no degree control or prevent.

In all Conspiracies there must be great secrecy, consent, and union; yet it can hardly be conceived, with what entire Confidence in each other, the numerous and not very rich Nobility of *Scotland* (for of the Common People, who are naturally very dependant on the other, there can be no wonder) concurred in the carrying on this Rebellion: their strange Condescension and Submission to their ignorant and insolent Clergy, who were to have great Authority because they were to inflame all sorts of men upon the obligations of Conscience; and in order thereunto, and to revenge a little Indiscretion and ill Manners of some of the Bishops, had liberty to erect a Tribunal the most Tyrannical over all sorts of men, and all the Families of the Kingdom: so that the Preacher reprehended the Husband, governed the Wife, chastised the Children and in-

sulted over the Servants, in the Houses of the Greatest men. They referred the management and conduct of the whole Affair to a Committee of a few, who had never before exercised any Office or Authority in the Public, with that perfect resignation and obedience, that no body presumed to inquire What was to be done, or to murmur at, or censure any thing that Was done; and the General himself, and the Martial affairs, were subject to this *Regimen* and Discipline as well as the Civil: yet They who were intrusted with this Superiority, paid all the Outward respect and reverence to the person of the General, as if all the power and disposal had been in Him alone.

The few *English* (for there were yet but very few who were intrusted from the Beginning of the enterprise, and with all that was Then projected) were men of reserved and dark natures, of great industry and address, and of much reputation for probity and integrity of life, and who trusted none but those who were contented to be trusted to that degree as they were willing to trust them without being inquisitive into more than they were ready to communicate, and for the rest depended upon their discretion and judgment; and so prepared and disposed, by second and third hands, many to concur and contribute to several preparatory actions, who would never have consented to the conclusions which naturally resulted from those premises.

This united strength, and humble and active temper, was not encountered by an equal providence and circumspection in the King's Councils,

B O O K

II.

B O O K or an equal temper and dutiful disposition in the
II. Court; nor did they who resolved honestly and stoutly to discharge the offices of good Servants and good Subjects to the utmost opposition of all unlawful attempts, communicate their purposes to men of the same Integrity, that so they might unite their counsels as well in the manner and way, as their resolutions in the end. But every one thought it enough to preserve his own innocence, and to leave the Rest to those who should have authority to direct. The King was perplexed and irresolute, and according to his natural constitution (which never disposed him to jealousy of any man of whom he had once thought well) was full of hope, that his condition was not so bad as it seemed to be. The Queen wished much better to the Earl of *Holland*, than to the Arch-Bishop or the Earl of *Strafford*, neither of Them being in any degree acceptable to her; so that she was little concerned for the danger that threatened them: but when she saw the King's Honor and Dignity invaded in the prosecution, she withdrew her favor from the Earl of *Holland*: but then she was persuaded, by those who had most credit with her, to believe, that by the removal of the great Ministers, Her power and authority would be increased, and that the prevailing Party would be willing to depend upon her; and that by gratifying the principal Persons of them with such Preferments as they affected, she would quickly reconcile all ill humors: and so she hearkened to any overtures of that kind; which were always carried on without the consent or privity of those who were

concerned, who in truth more disliked Her absolute power with the King, than any other Excess of the Court, and looked upon it as the greatest Grievance. Every man There considered only what application would be most like to raise his Own fortune, or to do Those harm with whom he was angry, and gave himself wholly up to those Artifices which might promote either. To preserve themselves from the displeasure and censure of the Parliament, and to render themselves gracious to Those who were like to be powerful in it, was all men's business and solicitude. And in this very unequal and disproportioned condition and temper, was the King's and the *Scottish* Army, the Court and the Country, when the Parliament met.

B O O K
II.

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Κλῆμα ἱς ἀνδ. *Thucyd.*

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

V O L. II.

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M D C C X C V I I I.



THE

History of the Rebellion, etc.

B O O K III.

Deut. XII. 30.

Take heed to thyself, that thou be not snared by following them, and that thou inquire not after their Gods, saying, How did these Nations serve their Gods? even So will I do likewise.

Judg. II. 3.

— — *But they shall be as Thorns in your Sides; and their Gods shall be a Snare unto you.*

THE Parliament met upon the Third of November 1640, with a fuller appearance than could be reasonably expected, from the short time for Elections after the issuing out the Writs; insomuch as at the first not many Members were absent. It had a sad and a melancholic aspect upon the first entrance, which presaged some unusual and unnatural events. The King himself did not ride with his accustomed Equipage nor in his usual majesty to *Westminster*, but went privately in his Barge to the Parliament Stairs, and after to the Church, as if it had been to a return of a prorogued or adjour-

B O O K
III.
The Parliament met
November
the Third
1640.

BOOK III. ned Parliament. And there was likewise an untoward, and in truth an unheard of accident, which broke many of the King's measures, and infinitely disordered his Service beyond a capacity of reparation. From the time the calling a Parliament was resolved upon, the King designed Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, who was Recorder of *London*, to be Speaker in the House of Commons; a man of gravity and quickness, that had somewhat of authority and gracefulness in his person and presence, and in all respects equal to the Service. There was little doubt but that he would be chosen to serve in one of the four places for the City of *London*, which had very rarely rejected their Recorder upon that occasion; and lest that should fail, diligence was used in one or two other places that he might be elected. The opposition was so great, and the Faction so strong, to hinder his being elected in the City, that four others were chosen for that Service, without hardly mentioning his name: nor was there less industry used to prevent his being chosen in other places; Clerks were corrupted not to make out the Writ for one place, and ways were found out to hinder the Writ from being executed in another, time enough for the return before the meeting: so great a fear there was, that a man of entire affections to the King, and of prudence enough to manage those affections, and to regulate the contrary, should be put into the Chair. So that the very morning the Parliament was to meet, and when the King intended to go thither, he was informed that Sir *Thomas Gardiner* was not returned to serve as a Member in the House of Commons, and so was

not capable of being chosen to be Speaker ; so that his Majesty deferred his going to the House till the afternoon , by which time he was to think of another Speaker. B O O K
III.

Upon the perusal of all the Returns into the Crown-Office, there were not found many Lawyers of eminent Name (though many of them proved very Eminent men afterwards) or who had served long in former Parliaments, the experience whereof was to be wished ; and men of that Profession had been most commonly thought the most proper for that Service , and the putting it out of that Channel at that time was thought too hazardous : so that, after all the deliberation the shortness of that time would admit, Mr. *Lenthall*, a Bencher of *Lincolns-Inn* (a Lawyer of competent practice, and no ill reputation for his affection to the Government both of Church and State) was pitched upon by the King, and with very great difficulty rather prevailed with than persuaded to accept the charge. And no doubt a Worse could not have been deputed of all that Profession who were then returned ; for he was a man of a very narrow , timorous nature , and of no experience or conversation in the affairs of the Kingdom, beyond what the very drudgery in his Profession (in which all his design was to make himself rich) engaged him in. In a word, he was in all respects very unequal to the Work , and not knowing how to preserve his Own dignity , or to restrain the licence and exorbitance of Others , his Weakness contributed as much to the growing Mischiefs , as the Malice of the prin-

B O O K cival contrivers. However, after the King had
III. that afternoon recommended the distracted condition of the Kingdom (with too little Majesty) to the wisdom of the two Houses of Parliament, to have such reformation and remedies applied as They should think fit, proposing to them, as the best rule for their Counsels, "that all things should be reduced to the practice of the time of Queen *Elizabeth*;" the House of Commons no sooner returned to their House, than they chose Mr. *Lenthall* to be their Speaker; and two days after, with the usual ceremonies and circumstances, presented him to the King, who declared his acceptance; and so both Houses were ready for the Work.

Mr. Lenthall made Speaker.

There was observed a marvellous elated countenance in many of the Members of Parliament before they met together in the House; the same men who six months before were observed to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied, without opening the wound too wide and exposing it to the air, and rather to cure what was amiss than too strictly to make inquisition into the causes and original of the malady, talked Now in another dialect both of things and Persons; and said "that they must now be of
 " another temper than they were the last Parliament;
 " that they must not only sweep the House clean
 " below, but must pull down all the Cobwebs
 " which hung in the top and corners, that they
 " might not breed dust, and so make a foul House
 " hereafter; That they had now an opportunity
 " to make their Country happy, by removing all

“ Grievances, and pulling up the Causes of them
 “ by the Roots, if all men would to their duties;”
 and used much other sharp discourse to the same
 purpose: by which it was discerned, that the warmest
 and boldest counsels and overtures, would find a
 much better reception than those of a more tem-
 perate allay; which fell out accordingly: and the
 very first day they met together, in which they
 could enter upon business, Mr. *Pym*, in a long,
 formed discourse, lamented the miserable state and
 condition of the Kingdom, aggravated all the par-
 ticulars which had been done amiss in the Govern-
 ment, as “done and contrived maliciously, and
 “ upon deliberation, to change the whole Frame,
 “ and to deprive the Nation of all the Liberty and
 “ property which was their Birth-right by the Laws
 “ of the Land, which were now no more confi-
 “ dered, but subjected to the arbitrary power of
 “ the Privy-Council, which governed the King-
 “ dom according to Their will and pleasure; these
 “ Calamities falling upon us in the reign of a pi-
 “ ous and virtuous King, who loved his People,
 “and was a great lover of Justice.” And thereupon
 enlarging in some specious commendation of the
 nature and goodness of the King, that he might
 wound him with less suspicion, he said, “We must
 “ inquire from what Fountain these Waters of bit-
 “ terness flowed; what persons They were who
 “ had so far insinuated themselves into his Royal
 “ affections, as to be able to pervert his excellent
 “ Judgment, to abuse his Name, and wickedly
 “ apply His authority to countenance and support

B O O K

II.

Mr. Pym
 begins the
 debate of
 Grievances.

B O O K

III.

“ their Own corrupt designs. Though he doubted
 “ there would be Many found of this *classis*, who
 “ had contributed their joint endeavours to bring
 “ this misery upon the Nation ; Yet he believed there
 “ was One more signal in that administration than
 “ the rest, being a man of great parts and contrivance,
 “ and of great industry to bring what he designed
 “ to pass ; a man, who in the memory of many
 “ present, had sat in that House an earnest vindicator
 “ of the Laws, and a most zealous assertor
 “ and champion for the Liberties of the People ;
 “ but that it was long since he turned Apostate from
 “ those good affections, and according to the custom
 “ and nature of Apostates, was become the greatest
 “ Enemy to the Liberties of his Country, and the
 “ greatest promoter of Tyranny that any age had
 “ produced. And then he named the Earl of *Stratford*,
 “ Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and Lord President
 “ of the Council established in *York* for the
 “ Northern Parts of the Kingdom ; who, he said,
 “ had in both Places, and in all other Provinces
 “ wherein his service had been used by the King,
 “ raised ample monuments of his Tyrannical nature ;
 “ and that he believed, if they took a short survey,
 “ of his actions and behaviour, they would find
 “ him the principal Author and Promoter of all those
 “ Counsels which had exposed the Kingdom to so
 “ much ruin :” and so instanced in some high and
 imperious actions done by him in *England* and in
Ireland, some proud and over-confident expressions
 in discourse, and some passionate advices he had
 given in the most secret Councils and debates

of the affairs of State ; adding some lighter passages of his vanity and amours ; that they who were not inflamed with anger and detestation against him for the former , might have less esteem and reverence for his prudence and discretion : and so concluded, “ That they would well consider how to provide a “ Remedy proportionable to the Disease , and to “ prevent the farther Mischiefs they were to expect “ from the continuance of this great man’s power “ and credit with the King , and his influence upon “ His counsels.

From the time that the Earl of *Strafford* was named, most men believed that there would be some Committee appointed to receive information of all his miscarriages, and that , upon report thereof, they would farther consider what course to take in the examination and prosecution thereof : but they had already prepared and digested their business to a ripper period.

Mr. *Pym* had no sooner finished his discourse, than Sir *John Clotworthy* (a Gentleman of *Ireland*, and utterly unknown in *England*, who was, by the contrivance and recommendation of some powerful persons, returned to serve for a Borough in *Devonshire*, that so he might be enabled to act This part against the Lord Lieutenant) made a long and confused relation “of his Tyrannical carriage in that “ Kingdom ; of the Army he had raised there to invade “ *Scotland* ; how he had threatened the Parliament, “ if they granted not such Supplies as he required ; “ of an Oath he had framed to be administered to all “ the *Scottish* nation which inhabited that Kingdom,

B O O K

III.

“ and his severe proceedings against some Persons of Quality who refused to take that Oath;” and that he had with great pride and passion publicly declared at his leaving that Kingdom, “ If ever he should return to that Sword, he would not leave a *Scottish*-man to inhabit in *Ireland*:” with a multitude of very exalted expressions, and some very high actions in his administration of that Government, in which the Lives as well as the Fortunes of men had been disposed of out of the common road of Justice: all which, made him to be looked upon as a man very terrible, and under whose authority men would not chuse to put themselves.

Several other Persons appearing ready to continue the discourse, and the morning being spent, so that, according to the observation of Parliament-hours, the time of rising was come, an Order was suddenly made “ that the door should be shut, and no body suffered to go out of the House;” which had rarely been practised: care having been first taken, to give such advertisement to some of the Lords that that House might likewise be kept from rising; which would otherwise very much have broken their measures.

Then Sir *John Hotham*, and some other *Yorkshire*-men, who had received some disobligation from the Earl in the County, continued the Invective, mentioning many particulars of his imperious carriage, and that he had, in the face of the Country, upon the execution of some illegal Commission, declared, “ that they should find the little finger of the King’s Prerogative heavier upon them than the loins of

“ the Law ;” which expression, though upon after-examination it was found to have a quite contrary sense, marvellously increased the Passion and Prejudice towards him. B O O K
III.

In conclusion, after many hours of bitter inveighing and ripping up the course of his life Before his coming to Court, and his Actions After, it was moved, according to the secret Resolution taken before, “ that he might be forthwith Impeached of “ High-Treason ;” which was no sooner mentioned, than it found an universal approbation and consent from the whole House: nor was there, in all the debate, one person who offered to stop the Torrent by any favorable testimony concerning the Earl’s carriage, save only that the Lord *Falkland* (who was very well known to be far from having any kindness for him) when the Proposition was made for the Present accusing him of High-Treason, modestly desired the House to consider, “ Whether it would “ not suit better with the gravity of their Proceedings, first to digest many of those particulars which “ had been mentioned, by a Committee, before “ they sent up to accuse him ? declaring himself to “ be abundantly satisfied that there was enough to “ charge him :” which was very ingenuously, and frankly answered by Mr. *Pym*, “ That such a delay “ might probably blast all their hopes, and put it “ out of their power to proceed farther than they “ had done already ; that the Earl’s power and credit “ with the King, and with all those who had most “ credit with King or Queen, was so great, that “ when he should come to know that so much of his

B O O K “ Wickedness was discovered, his own Conscience
III. “ would tell him What he was to expect; and there-
 “ fore he would undoubtedly procure the Parliament
 “ to be Dissolved, rather than undergo the Justice
 “ of it, or take some other desperate course to pre-
 “ serve Himself, though with the hazard of the King-
 “ dom’s ruin: Whereas, if they presently sent up
 “ to impeach him of High-Treason before the House
 “ of Peers, in the Name and on the Behalf of all the
 “ Commons of *England*, who were represented by
 “ them, the Lords would be obliged in Justice to
 “ commit him into safe Custody, and so sequester
 “ him from resorting to Council, or having access
 “ to his Majesty; and then they should proceed
 “ against him in the usual form with all necessary
 “ expedition.”

To those who were known to have no kindness for him, and seemed to doubt whether all the particulars alledged, being proved, would amount to High-Treason, it was alledged, “ That the House
 “ of Commons were not Judges, but only Accusers,
 “ and that the Lords were the proper Judges whe-
 “ ther such a complication of Enormous Crimes in
 “ one Person, did not amount to the highest Offence
 “ the Law took notice of, and therefore that it was
 “ fit to present it to Them.” These reasons of the
 haste they made, so clearly delivered, gave that uni-
 versal satisfaction, that without farther considering
 the Injustice and Unreasonableness of it, they Voted
 unanimously (for ought appeared to the contrary
 by any avowed contradiction) “ That they would
 “ forthwith send up to the Lords and accuse the Earl

The Commons
 impeach the
 Earl of

“ of *Strafford* of High-Treason, and several other
 “ Crimes and Misdemeanours, and desire that he
 “ might be presently sequestered from the Council,
 “ and committed to safe custody;” and Mr. *Pym* was
 made choice of for the Messenger to perform that
 office. This being determined, the doors were
 opened, and most of the House accompanied him
 on the Errand.

B O O K

III.

S^rrafford of
High-Treason.

It was about three of the Clock in the afternoon, when the Earl of *Strafford* (being infirm, and not well disposed in his health, and so not having stirred out of his house that morning) hearing that both Houses still sat, thought fit to go thither. It was believed by some (upon what ground was never clear enough) that he made that haste then to accuse the Lord *Say*, and some others, of having induced the *Scots* to invade the Kingdom; but he was scarce entered into the House of Peers, when the message from the House of Commons was called in, and when Mr. *Pym* at the Bar, and in the Name of all the Commons of *England*, impeached *Thomas Earl of Strafford* (with the addition of all his other Titles) of High-Treason, and several other heinous Crimes and Misdemeanours, of which he said the Commons would in due time make proof in form; and in the mean time desired in Their name, that he might be sequestered from all Councils, and be put into safe Custody: and so withdrawing, the Earl was, with more Clamor than was suitable to the gravity of that Supreme Court, called upon to Withdraw, hardly obtaining leave to be first heard in his place, which could not be denied him.

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III.

The Earl is
committed to
the Black-rod.

He then lamented "his great Misfortune to lie under so heavy a charge; professed his Innocence and Integrity, which he made no doubt he should make appear to them; desired that he might have his Liberty, until some Guilt should be proved; and desired them to consider, what mischief they should bring upon Themselves, if upon such a general Charge, without the mention of any one Crime, a Peer of the Realm should be committed to Prison, and so deprived of his Place in that House, where he was summoned by the King's Writ to assist in their Counsels; and of what consequence such a Precedent might be to their Own Privilege and Birth-right:" and then withdrew. The Peers with very little debate resolved he should be committed to the Custody of the Gentleman Usher of the Black-rod, there to remain until the House of Commons should bring in a particular Charge against him:" which determination of the House was pronounced to him at the Bar upon his Knees, by the Lord Keeper of the great Seal, upon the Wool-sack: and so being taken away by *Maxwell*, Gentleman Usher, Mr. *Pym* was called in, and informed what the House had done; after which (it being then about four of the Clock) both Houses adjourned till the next day.

When this work was so prosperously over, they begun to consider, that notwithstanding all the Industry that had been used to procure such Members to be chosen, or returned, though not chosen, who had been most refractory to the Government

of the Church and State; yet that the House was so constituted, that when the first heat (which almost all men brought with them) should be a little allayed, violent counsels would not be long hearkened to: and therefore, As they took great care by the Committee of Elections to remove as many of those Members as they suspected not to be inclinable to their Passions, upon pretence "that they were not regularly chosen," that so they might bring in others more pliable in Their places; in which no rule of Justice was so much as pretended to be observed by them; insomuch as it was often said by leading men amongst them, "That they ought in those cases of Elections to be guided by the fitness and worthiness of the Person, whatsoever the desire of those was in whom the Right of Election remained;" and therefore one man hath been admitted upon the same rule by which another hath been rejected: So they declared, "That no Person how Lawfully and Regularly soever chosen and returned, should be and sit as a Member with them, who had been a party or favorer of any Project, or who had been employed in any illegal Commission."

By this means (contrary to the Customs and Rights of Parliament) many Gentlemen of good Quality were removed, in whose places commonly others were chosen of more agreeable dispositions: but in this likewise there was no rule observed; for no person was hereby removed, of whom there was any hope that he might be applied to the violent courses which were intended. Upon which

BOOK III. occasion the King charged them in one of his Declarations, "that when, under that notion of Projectors, " they expelled many, they yet never questioned " Sir Henry Mildmay, or Mr. Laurence Whitaker;" who had been most scandalously engaged in those Pressures, though since more scandalously in all enterprises against his Majesty; to which never any answer or reply was made.

The next Art, was to make the Severity and Rigor of the House as formidable as was possible, and to make as many men apprehend themselves obnoxious to the House, as had been in any Trust or Employment in the Kingdom. Thus they passed many general Votes concerning Ship-money, in which, all who had been High-Sheriffs, and so collected it, were highly concerned. The like sharp Conclusions were made upon all Lords Lieutenants and their Deputies, which were the prime Gentlemen of Quality in all the Counties of *England*. Then upon some disquisition of the Proceedings in the Star-chamber, and at the Council-table, all who concurred in such a Sentence, and consented to such an Order, were declared Criminal, and to be proceeded against. So that, in a moment, All the Lords of the Council, All who had been Deputy-Lieutenants, or High-Sheriffs, during the late years, found themselves within the mercy of these grand Inquisitors: and hearing new terms of Art, that a complication of several Misdemeanours might grow up to Treason, and the like, it was no wonder if men desired by all means to get Their favor and protection.

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The Arch-
Bishop of
Canterbury
accused of
High-Treason.

When they had sufficiently startled men by these Proceedings, and upon half an hour's debate, sent up an Accusation against the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* of High-Treason, and so removed Him likewise from the King's Council, they rested satisfied with their general Rules, Votes, and Orders, without making haste to proceed either against Things or Persons; being willing, rather to keep men in Suspense, and to have the advantage of their Fears, than, by letting them see the Worst that could befall them, lose the benefit of their Application. For this reason they used their utmost skill to keep off any debate of Ship-money, that that whole business might hang like a Meteor over the heads of those that were in any degree faulty in it; and it was observable, when, notwithstanding all their endeavours to divert it, that business was brought into debate, and upon that (which could not be avoided) the Lord *Finch* named as an avowed Factor and Procurer of that odious Judgment; who, if Their rule were true, "that an endeavour to alter the Government by Law, and to introduce an Arbitrary Power, were Treason, was the most notoriously and unexcusably guilty of that Crime of any man that could be named;" Before they would endure the mention of an accusation of High Treason, they appointed a Committee, with great deliberation and solemnity, to bring in a charge Formally prepared (which had not been done in the case of the Lord Arch-Bishop, or the Earl of *Strafford*) and then gave him a day to be heard for himself at the House of Commons Bar, whereby, against all

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The Lord
Keeper
Finch with-
drew beyond
Sea:

Order, he was to take notice of what was handled in the House concerning himself; and then finding that, by their own Rules, He would be likewise accused of High Treason, they continued the Debate so long, that the Lords House was risen, so that the Accusation was not carried up till the next morning; and before that time, the Lord Keeper (being well informed of all that had passed) had withdrawn himself; and shortly after went into *Holland*: the Lord *Littleton*, then Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, being made Keeper of the great Seal of *England* in his place.

About the same time, Sir *Francis Windebank*; one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and then a Member of the House of Commons, was accused of many transactions on the behalf of the Papists, of several natures (whose extraordinary Patron indeed he was) and he being then present in the House, several Warrants under his own hand were produced for the discharge of Prosecutions against Priests, and for the release of Priests out of Prison: whereupon, whilst the matter should be debated, according to custom he was ordered to Withdraw, and so went into the usual place, the Committee-Chamber; immediately whereupon, the House of Commons went to a Conference with the Lords upon some other occasion, and returning from that Conference, no more resumed the debate of the Secretary, but having considered some other business rose at their usual hour; and so the Secretary had liberty to go to his own house; from whence, observing the disposition of the House, and well knowing what they were

were able to say against him, he had no more mind to trust himself in that company, but the same night withdrew himself from any place where inquiry might be made for him, and was no more heard of till the news came of his being landed in *France*.

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as did like-
wife Secreta-
ry Winde-
bank.

So that within less than six weeks, for no more was yet elapsed, these terrible Reformers had caused the two greatest Counsellors of the Kingdom, and whom they most feared, and so hated, to be removed from the King, and imprisoned, under an accusation of High-Treason; and frightened away the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and One of the Principal Secretaries of State, into Foreign Kingdoms, for fear of the like; besides the preparing all the Lords of the Council, and very many of the principal Gentlemen throughout *England*, who (as was said before) had been High-Sheriffs, and Deputy-Lieutenants, to expect such measure of Punishment from Their general Votes and Resolutions, as their future Demeanour should draw upon them, for their past Offences: by which means, they were like to find no vigorous Resistance or Opposition in their farther designs.

I could never yet learn the true reason, why they suffered Secretary *Windebank* to escape their Justice (for the Lord *Finch*, it was visible he was in their favor, and they would gladly have preserved him in the place) against whom they had more pregnant testimony of Offences within the verge of the Law, than against any person, they have accused since this Parliament, and of some that,

B O O K it may be, might have proved Capital, and so their
III. appetite of Blood might have been satisfied: For, besides his frequent Letters of intercession in his Own name, and signification of his Majesty's Pleasure, on the behalf of Papists and Priests, to the Judges, and to other Ministers of Justice; and Protections granted by Himself to Priests, that no body should molest them; He harboured some Priests in his own House, knowing them to be such; which, by the Statute made in the Twenty-ninth year of Queen *Elizabeth*, is made Felony: and there were some Warrants under his Own hand for the release of Priests out of *Newgate*, who were actually attainted of Treason, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; which by the strict Letter of the Statute, the Lawyers said, would have been very Penal to him.

I remember one Story brought into the House concerning him, that administered some mirth; A Messenger (I think his name was *Newton*) who principally attended the service of apprehending Priests, came one day to him in his Garden, and told him, "that he had brought with him a Priest, " a stirring and active person, whom he had apprehended that morning; and desired to know, to " what Prison he should carry him." The Secretary sharply asked him, "Whether he would never give " over this Blood-thirsty humor?" and in great anger calling him Knave, and taking the Warrant from him by which he had apprehended him, departed without giving any other direction. The Messenger appalled, thought the Priest was some

person in favor, and therefore took no more care of him, but suffered him to depart. The Priest, freed from this fright, went securely to his Lodgings, and within two or three days was arrested for Debt, and carried in execution to Prison. Shortly after, Secretary *Windebank* sent for the Messenger, and asked him, "What was become of the Priest he had at such a time brought before him? he told him, "that he conceived his Honor had been "offended with the apprehension of him, and therefore he had looked no farther after him. The Secretary in much Passion told him, "the discharging a Priest was no light matter, and that if he "speedily found him not, he should answer the default with his life; that the Priest was a dangerous "Fellow, and must not escape in that fashion." The Messenger, besides his natural inclination to that exercise, terrified with those threats, left no means untried for the discovery, and at last heard where the man was in execution in Prison: thither he went and demanded the Priest (who was not there known to be such) as his Prisoner formerly, and escaped from him; and by virtue of his first Warrant took him again into his custody, and immediately carried him to the Secretary; and within few days after, the Priest was discharged, and at liberty. The Jailer, in whose custody he had been put for debt, was arrested by the Parties grieved, and he again sued the Messenger, who appealed for Justice to the House of Commons against the Secretary.

This Case had been presented to the Committee, and was ready to be reported, with all those War-

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rants under his own hand before mentioned, at the time when Secretary *Windebank* was in the House. Besides that, he was charged by the Lords by Message or at a Conference, for Breach of Privilege at the Dissolution of the last Parliament, and signing Warrants for the searching the Studies and Papers of some Members; for which, according to the Doctrine then received, he might have been put into the custody of the Serjeant of the House. But, as the last occasion was not laid hold of, because it would have inevitably involved his brother Secretary Sir *Henry Vane*, who was under the same charge, and against whom indeed That charge was aimed: So, it seems, they were contented he should make an escape from any Trial for the rest; either, because they thought his Place would be sooner void by his Flight than by his Trial, which would have taken up some time, and required some formality, they having designed that Place to Mr. *Hollis*; or, that they thought he would, upon any examination, draw in somewhat to the Prejudice of Sir *Henry Vane*, whom they were to protect: and so they were well content with his Escape.

Having made their first entrance upon business with this vigor, they proceeded every day with the same fervor; and he who expressed most Warmth against the Court and the Government, was heard with the most Favor; every day producing many formed elaborate Orations, against all the Acts of State which had been done for many years preceding That they might hasten the Prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford*, which was their First great

design, they made a close Committee of such Members, as they knew to be most for their purpose, who should, under an obligation of Secrecy, prepare the heads of a charge against him; which had been seldom or never heard of before in Parliament; and that they might be sure to do their business effectually, they sent a message to the House of Peers, to desire them “to nominate a select Committee likewise of a few, to examine upon oath such Witnesses, as the Committee of the House of Commons for preparing the Charge against the Earl of *Strafford* should produce before them, and in their Presence, and upon such Interrogatories as they should offer;” which, though it was without Precedent, or example, the Lords presently consented to, and named such men as knew well What they had to do. Then they caused Petitions to be every day presented, by some who had been Grieved by any severe Sentences in the Star-Chamber, or Committed by the Lords of the Council, against Lords Lieutenants of Counties, and their Deputy-Lieutenants, for having levied Money upon the Country, for conducting and clothing of Soldiers, and other actions of a Martial nature (which had been done by those Officers so qualified, from the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and was practised throughout her Reign) and against Sheriffs, for having levied Ship-money. Upon all which Petitions (the matter being pressed and aggravated still upon every particular by some Member of note and authority, upon which) all the Acts how formal and judicial soever, without so much as hearing the Sentences

B O O K or Judgments read, were voted "to be Illegal, and
 III. "against the Liberty and Property of the Subject;
 "and that all who were guilty of such Proceedings,
 "should be Prosecuted for their presumption, and
 "should likewise pay Damages to the persons injured."

By which general Votes (all passed within a short time after the sitting of the Parliament) they had made themselves so terrible, that all Privy-Counsellors, as well for what they had done at the Board, as in the Star Chamber (where indeed many notable Sentences had passed, with some excess in the Punishment) all Lords-Lieutenants, who for the most part were likewise Counsellors, whereof all were of the House of Peers; and then all who were Deputy-Lieutenants, or had been Sheriffs since the first issuing out of Writs for the collection of Ship-money, whereof very many were then of the House of Commons; found themselves involved under some of those Votes, and liable to be proceeded against upon the first Provocation; whereby they were kept in such awe, both in the one House, and the other, as if they were upon their good behaviour, that they durst not appear to dislike, much less to oppose, whatsoever was proposed.

All persons imprisoned for Sedition by the Star-Chamber upon the most solemn examination and the most grave deliberation, were set at liberty, that they might prosecute their appeals in Parliament. In the mean time, though there were two Armies in the bowels of the Kingdom, at so vast an expense,

care was taken only to provide money to Pay them, without the least mention that the one should return into *Scotland*, and the other be disbanded, that so that vast expence might be determined: but on the contrary, frequent insinuations were given, “ that many great things were first to be done before the Armies could be disbanded; ” only they desired the King “ that all Papists might be forthwith cashiered out of his Army, which his Majesty could not deny; and so some Officers of good account were immediately dismissed.

It will not be impertinent nor unnatural to this present Discourse, to set down in this place the present temper and constitution of both Houses of Parliament, that it may be the less wondered at, that so prodigious an alteration should be made in so short a time, and the Crown fallen so low, that it could neither support it-Self and its Own Majesty, nor Them who would appear faithful to it.

Of the House of Peers, the great contrivers and designers were, first the Earl of *Bedford*, a wise man, and of too great and plentiful a fortune to wish a subversion of the Government; and it quickly appeared, that he only intended to make Himself and his Friends great at Court, not at all to lessen the Court itself.

The Lord Viscount *Say*, a man of a close and reserved nature, of a mean and narrow fortune, of great parts, and of the highest Ambition; but whose Ambition would not be satisfied with Offices and Preferments, without some condescensions and alte-

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The Temper
of both Hou-
ses at that
time, and
the Charac-
ter of the
then leading
men in both.

In the House
of Peers the
Earl of
Bedford,

the Lord
Say,

B O O K
 111. ations in Ecclesiastical matters. He had for many years been the Oracle of those who were called Puritans in the worst sense, and steered all Their counsels and designs. He was a notorious Enemy to the Church, and to most of the eminent Churchmen, with some of whom he had particular contests. He had always opposed and contradicted all acts of State, and all Taxes and Impositions, which were not exactly Legal, and so had as eminently and as obstinately refused the payment of Ship-money as Mr. *Hambden* had done; though the latter, by the choice of the King's Council, had brought his Cause to be first heard and argued, with which Judgment, it was intended the whole right of That matter should be concluded, and all other Causes over-ruled. The Lord *Say* would not acquiesce, but pressed to have his Own case argued, and was so solicitous in Person with all the Judges, both privately at their Chambers, and publicly in the Court at *Westminster*, that he was very grievous to them. His Commitment at *York*, the year before, because he refused to take an Oath, or rather subscribe a Protestation, against holding Intelligence with the *Scots*, when the King first marched against them, had given him much credit. In a word, he had very great authority with all the Discontented party throughout the Kingdom, and a good reputation with many who were not discontented, who believed him to be a wise man and of a very useful temper, in an age of Licence, and one who would still adhere to the Law.

The Lord *Mandevile*, eldest Son to the Lord Privy-Seal, was a person of great civility, and very well bred, and had been early in the Court under the favor of the Duke of *Buckingham*, a Lady of whose Family he had married: he had attended upon the Prince when he was in *Spain*, and had been called to the House of Peers in the life-time of his Father, by the name of the Lord *Kimbolton*, which was a very extraordinary favor. Upon the death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Wife being likewise dead, he married the Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick*; a man in no grace at Court, and looked upon as the greatest Patron of the Puritans, because of much the greatest Estate of all who favored them, and so was esteemed by them with great application and veneration: though he was of a life very licentious, and unformable to Their professed Rigor, which they rather dispensed with, than they would withdraw from a House where they received so eminent a Protection, and such notable Bounty. Upon this latter Marriage the Lord *Mandevile* totally estranged himself from the Court, and upon all occasions appeared enough to dislike what was done there, and engaged himself wholly in the conversation of those who were most notoriously of that Party, whereof there was a kind of Fraternity of many persons of good condition, who chose to live together in one Family, at a Gentleman's House of a fair fortune, near the place where the Lord *Mandevile* lived, whither others of that *Classis* likewise resorted, and maintained a joint and mutual correspondence and conversation together with much familiarity and friendship: That

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the Lord
Mandevile,

B O O K Lord, to support, and the better to improve that
III. Popularity, and living at a much higher rate than the narrow exhibition allowed to him by his wary Father could justify, making up the rest by contracting a great debt, which long lay heavy upon him; by which generous way of living, and by his natural civility, good manners, and good nature, which flowed towards all men, he was universally acceptable and beloved; and no man more in the confidence of the Discontented and Factious party than He, and none to whom the whole mass of Their designs, as well what remained in Chaos as what was Formed, was more entirely communicated, and no man more consulted with. And therefore these three Lords are nominated as the Principal Agents in the House of Peers (though there were many there of Quality and Interest much superior to any of Them) because They were principally and absolutely trusted by those who were to manage all in the House of Commons, and to raise that Spirit which was upon all occasions to inflame the Lords. Yet it being enough known and understood, that how indisposed and angry soever many of them at Present appeared to be, there would be still a major part There, who would, if they were not over-reached, adhere to the King and the established Government, and therefore, these three persons were trusted without reserve, and relied upon so to steer, as might increase their Party by all the arts imaginable; and they had dexterity enough to appear to depend upon those three Lords, who were looked upon as Greater, and as Popular men; and to be subservient

to Their purposes, Whom in truth they governed B O O K
and disposed of.

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And by these Artifices, and application to his ^{Th Earl of}
Vanity, and magnifying the General reputation and ^{Essex.}
credit he had with the People, and sharpening the
fence he had of his late ill treatment at Court, they
fully prevailed upon, and possessed themselves of,
the Earl of *Essex*; who, though he was no good
Speaker in Public, yet, by having sat long in Par-
liament, was so well acquainted with the order of it
in very active times, that he was a better speaker
There than any where else, and being always heard
with attention and respect, had much Authority in
the debates. Nor did he need any incitement (which
made all approaches to him the more easy) to do any
thing against the Persons of the Lord Arch-Bishop
of *Canterbury* and the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*,
towards whom he professed a full dislike; who were
the only Persons against whom there was any declar-
ed design, and against whom the *Scots* had in their
Manifesto demanded Justice, as the cause of the War
between the Nations. And in this Prosecution there
was too great a concurrence: *Warwick*, *Brook*,
Wharton, *Paget*, *Howard*, and some others, impli-
cately followed and observed the dictates of the
Lords mentioned before, and started or seconded
what they were directed.

In the House of Commons were many persons of ^{In the House}
Wisdom and Gravity, who being possessed of great ^{of Commons.}
and plentiful Fortunes, though they were undevoted
enough to the Court, had all imaginable duty for
the King, and affection to the Government establish.

B O O K ed by Law or ancient Custom ; and without doubt ;
III. the major part of that Body consisted of men who had no mind to break the Peace of the Kingdom, or to make any considerable alteration in the Government of Church or State : and therefore all Inventions were set on foot from the beginning to work on them, and corrupt them, by suggestions “ of the “ Dangers which threatened All that was precious to “ the Subject in their Liberty and their Property , “ by overthrowing, or over-mastering the Law, “ and subjecting it to an Arbitrary power, and by “ countenancing Popery to the subversion of the “ Protestant Religion ; ” and then, by infusing terrible Apprehensions into some, and so working upon their Fears “ of being called in Question for “ somewhat they had done,” by which they would stand in need of Their protection ; and raising the Hopes of others, “ that by concurring with Them , “ they should be sure to obtain Offices, and Honors, “ and any kind of Preferment.” Though there were too many corrupted and misled by these several Temptations, and others who needed no other temptations than from the fierceness of their Own natures, and the malice they had contracted against the Church and against the Court ; Yet the number was not great of those in whom the Government of the rest was vested, nor were there many who had the absolute Authority to Lead, though there was a multitude disposed to Follow.

Mr. Pym , Mr. Pym was looked upon as the man of greatest Experience in Parliament, where he had served very long, and was always a man of business, being

an Officer in the Exchequer, and of a good reputation generally, though known to be inclined to the Puritan faction; yet not of those furious resolutions against the Church as the other Leading men were, and wholly devoted to the Earl of *Bedford*, who had nothing of that Spirit. B O O K
III.

Mr. Hambden was a man of much greater Cunning, and it may be, of the most discerning Spirit, and of the greatest Address and Insinuation to bring any thing to pass which he desired, of any man of that time, and who laid the design deepest. He was a Gentleman of a good Extraction, and a fair Fortune, who, from a life of great pleasure and licence, had on a sudden retired to extraordinary sobriety and strictness, and yet retained his usual cheerfulness and affability; which, together with the opinion of his wisdom and justice, and the courage he had showed in opposing the Ship money, raised his Reputation to a very great height, not only in *Buckinghamshire*, where he lived, but generally throughout the Kingdom. He was not a man of many words, and rarely begun the discourse, or made the first entrance upon any business that was assumed; but a very Weighty speaker, and after he had heard a full debate, and observed how the House was like to be inclined, took up the Argument, and shortly, and clearly, and craftily, so stated it, that he commonly conducted it to the conclusion he desired; and if he found he could not do that, he was never without the dexterity to divert the debate to another time, and to prevent the determining any thing in the Negative, which might prove Inconvenient in the Mr. Hambden,

B O O K future He made so great a show of Civility, and
III. Modesty, and Humility, and always of mistrusting
 his Own judgment, and esteeming His with whom
 he conferred for the present, that he seemed to have
 no opinions or resolutions, but such as he contracted
 from the information and instruction he received upon
 the discourses of others, whom he had a wonderful
 Art of governing, and leading into His principles and
 inclinations, whilst They believed that he wholly
 depended upon their counsel and advice. No man
 had ever a greater power over himself, or was less
 the man that he seemed to be, which shortly after
 appeared to every body, when he cared less to keep
 on the Masque.

**Mr. Saint-
 John,**

Mr. *Saint-John*, who was in a firm and entire
 conjunction with the other two, was a Lawyer of
Lincolns - Inn, known to be of parts and industry,
 but not taken notice of for practice in *Westminster-
 Hall*, till he argued at the Exchequer - Chamber the
 case of Ship - money on the behalf of Mr. *Hambden*;
 which gave him much reputation, and called him
 into all Courts, and to all Causes, where the King's
 Prerogative was most contested. He was a man
 reserved, and of a dark and clouded Countenance,
 very proud, and conversing with very few, and
 those, men of his own Humor and Inclinations. He
 had been questioned, committed, and brought into
 the Star - Chamber, many years before, with other
 Persons of great Name and Reputation (which first
 brought His name upon the Stage) for communicat-
 ing some Paper among themselves, which some men
 at that time had a mind to have extended to a design

of Sedition; but it being quickly evident that the Prosecution would not be attended with Success, they were all shortly after discharged; but he never forgave the Court the first assault, and contracted an implacable displeasure against the Church purely from the Company he kept. He was of an intimate trust with the Earl of *Bedford*, to whom he was in some sort allied (being a natural Son of the House of *Bullingbrook*) and by him brought into all matters where himself was to be concerned. It was generally believed, that these three Persons, with the other three Lords mentioned before, were of the most intimate and entire trust with each other, and made the Engine which moved all the rest: yet it was visible, that *Nathaniel Fiennes*, the second Son of the Lord *Say*, and Sir *Henry Vane*, eldest Son to the Secretary, and Treasurer of the House, were received by Them with full confidence and without reserve.

The former, being a man of good Parts of Learning, and after some years spent in *New-College* in *Oxford*, of which his Father had been formerly Fellow (that Family claiming and enjoying many Privileges there, as of kin to the Founder) had spent his time abroad, in *Geneva* and amongst the Cantons of *Switzerland*, where he improved his Disinclination to the Church, with which Milk he had been nursed. From his Travels he returned through *Scotland* (which few Travellers took in their way Home) at the time when that Rebellion was in the Bud; and was very little known, except amongst that People, which Converſed wholly amongst themselves,

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Sir Nathaniel
Fiennes.

B O O K until he was now found in Parliament, when it was
 III. quickly discovered, that as he was the darling of his
 Father, so he was like to make good whatsoever He
 had for many years promised.

Sir Henry
 Vane junior,

The other, Sir *Henry Vane*, was a man of great
 natural parts, and of very profound dissimulation,
 of a quick conception, and very ready, sharp, and
 weighty expression. He had an unusual aspect, which,
 though it might naturally proceed both from his
 Father and Mother, neither of which were beautiful
 Persons, yet made men think there was something
 in him of Extraordinary; and his whole life made
 good that imagination. Within a very short time
 after he returned from his Studies in *Magdalen*
College in Oxford, where, though he was under
 the care of a very worthy Tutor, he lived not
 with great exactness, he spent some little time in
France, and more in *Geneva*; and after his return
 into *England*, contracted a full prejudice and bit-
 terness against the Church, both against the Form
 of the Government, and the Liturgy, which was
 generally in great reverence, even with many of
 those who were not friends to the other. In this
 Giddiness, which then much displeased, or
 seemed to displease, his Father, who still appear-
 ed highly conformable, and exceeding sharp against
 those who were not, he transported himself into
New - England, a Colony within few years before
 planted by a mixture of all Religions, which
 disposed the Professors to dislike the Govern-
 ment of the Church; who were qualified by the
 King's Charter to chuse their own Government and
 Governors,

Governors, under the obligation, “ that every
 “ man should take the Oaths of Allegiance and
 “ Supremacy ;” which all the first Planters did, when
 they received their Charter, before they transported
 themselves from hence, nor was there, in many
 years, the least Scruple amongst them of complying
 with those obligations; so far men were, in the
 Infancy of their Schism, from refusing to take Lawful
 Oaths. He was no sooner landed there, but his Parts
 made him quickly taken notice of, and very probably
 his Quality. being the eldest Son of a Privy-Coun-
 sellor, might give him some advantage; insomuch,
 that when the next season came for the Election of
 their Magistrates, He was chosen their Governor:
 in which Place he had so ill Fortune (his working
 and unquiet fancy raising and infusing a thousand
 Scruples of Conscience, which They had not brought
 over with them, nor heard of before) that He unsatis-
 fied with Them, and They with Him, he transported
 himself into *England*; having sowed such seed of
 Dissension there, as grew up too prosperously, and
 miserably divided the poor Colony into several
 Factions, and Divisions, and Persecutions of each
 other, which still continue to the great Prejudice of
 that Plantation: insomuch as some of them upon the
 ground of the first Expedition, Liberty of Conscience,
 have withdrawn themselves from Their jurisdiction,
 and obtained other Charters from the King, by which
 in other forms of Government, they have enlarged
 their Plantation, within new limits adjacent to the
 other. He was no sooner returned into *England*,
 than he seemed to be much reformed from his

BOOK

III.

B O O K extravagancies, and with his Father's approbation
III. and direction, married a Lady of a good Family, and by his Father's credit with the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was High Admiral of *England*, was joined presently and jointly with Sir *William Ruffel* in the Office of Treasurer of the Navy (a Place of great trust and profit) which he equally shared with the other, and seemed a man well satisfied and composed to the Government. When his Father received the Disobligation from the Lord *Strafford*, by his being created Baron of *Raby*, the House and Land of *Vane* (which Title he had promised Himself, but it was unluckily cast upon the Earl, purely out of contempt of *Vane*) they sucked in all the thoughts of Revenge; imaginable; and from thence the Son betook himself to the Friendship of Mr. *Pym*, and all other Discontented or Seditious persons, and contributed all that Intelligence (which will hereafter be mentioned, as he himself will often be) that designed the Ruin of the Earl, and which grafted him in the entire confidence of Those who promoted the same; so that nothing was concealed from Him, though it is believed that he communicated his Own thoughts to very few.

Mr. Denzill
 Hollis.

Denzill Hollis, the younger Son and younger Brother of the Earls of *Clare*, was as much valued and esteemed by the whole Party, as any man; as he deserved to be, being of more accomplished Parts than any of them, and of great reputation by the part he acted against the Court and the Duke of *Buckingham*, in the Parliament of the Fourth year of

the King (the last Parliament that had been before the Short one in *April*) and his long Imprisonment, and sharp Prosecution afterwards, upon that account; of which he retained the memory with acrimony enough. But he would in no degree intermeddle in the Counsel or Prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford* (which he could not prevent) who had Married his Sister, by whom he had all his Children, which made him a Stranger to all Those consultations, though it did not otherwise interrupt the Friendship he had with the most violent of those Prosecutors. In all other contrivances he was in the most Secret Counsels with Those who most governed, and was respected by them with very submissive applications as a man of Authority. Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, the Lord *Digby*, *Strode*, *Haslerigg*; and the Northern Gentlemen, who were most angry with the Earl, or apprehensive of Their Own being in the mercy of the House, as *Hotham*, *Cholmely*, and *Stapleton*; with some Popular Lawyers of the House, who did not suspect any Wickedness in design, and so became involved by degrees in the Worst, observed and pursued the dictates and directions of the Other, according to the parts which were assigned to them upon emergent occasions: whilst the whole House looked on with wonder and amazement, without any man's interposing to allay the Passion and the Fury with which so many were transported.

This was the present Temper and Constitution of both Houses of Parliament upon their first coming together, when (as *Tacitus* says of the Jews, " that they exercised the highest Offices of Kindness

B O O K “ and Friendship towards each other, & *adversus*
 III. “ *omnes alios hostile odium*”) they watched all those
 who they knew were not of Their opinions,
 nor like to be, with all possible Jealousy; and
 if any of their Elections could be brought into
 Question, they were sure to be Voted out of the
 House, and then all the artifices were used to
 bring in more Sanctified Members; so that every
 week increased the number of their Party, both
 by new Elections, and the Profelytes they gained
 upon the old. Nor was it to be wondered at,
 for they pretended all Public thoughts, and only
 the reformation of disapproved and odious Enor-
 mities, and dissembled all purposes of removing
 Foundations, which, though it was in the hearts
 of some, they had not the courage and confidence
 to communicate it.

The *English* and the *Scottish* Armies remained
 quiet in their several Quarters in the North, without
 any acts of Hostility, under the obligation of the
 Cessation, which was still Prorogued from Month
 to Month, that the People might believe that a
 full Peace would be quickly concluded. And the
 Treaty, which during the King's being at *York* had
 been held at *Rippon*, being now adjourned to *London*,
 the *Scottish* Commissioners (whereof the Earl of
Roths, and the Lord *Lowden*, who hath been
 mentioned before, were the chief) came thither in
 great State, and were received by the King with that
 countenance which he could not chuse but show to
 them; and were then lodged in the heart of the City,

The Scottish
 Commissioners
 come to
 London and
 lodge in the
 City.

near *London-Stone*, in a house which used to be inhabited by the Lord Mayor or one of the Sheriffs, and was Situate so near to the Church of *St. Antholin's* (a place in late times made famous by some Seditious Lecturer) that there was a way out of it into a Gallery of the Church. This benefit was well foreseen on all sides in the accommodation, and this Church assigned to Them for their own Devotions, where one of their own Chaplains still Preached, amongst which *Alexander Henderfon* was the chief, who was likewise joined with them in the Treaty in all matters which had reference to Religion: and to hear those Sermons there was so great a conflux and resort, by the Citizens out of Humor and Faction; by others of all Qualities out of Curiosity; and by some that they might the better justify the Contempt they had of them, that from the first appearance of day in the Morning on every Sunday, to the shutting in of the light, the Church was never empty. They (especially the Women) who had the happiness to get into the Church in the Morning (they who could not, hung upon or about the Windows without to be Auditors or Spectators) keeping their places till the After-noon's Exercise was finished, which both Morning and After-noon, except to Palates and Appetites ridiculously corrupted, was the most Insipid and Flat that could be delivered upon any deliberation.

The Earl of *Rothes* had been the chief Architect of that whole Machine from the beginning, and was a man very well bred, and of very good Parts, and great address; in his Person very acceptable,

B O O K pleasant in Conversation, very free and amorous, and unrestrained in his discourse by any scruples of Religion, which he only put on when the part he was to act required it, and then no man could appear more Conscientiously transported. There will be sometimes occasion to mention him hereafter, as already as much hath been said of the other, the Lord *Lowden*, as is yet necessary.

A Committee of both Houses appointed to treat with the Scottish Commissioners.

They were no sooner come to the Town, but a new Committee of the Members of both Houses, such as were very acceptable to them, was appointed to renew and continue the Treaty with them that had been begun at *Rippon*: and then they Published and Printed their Declaration against the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in which they said, "That as they did reserve
" those of their Own Country who had been
" Incendiaries between the two Kingdoms, to be
" proceeded against in their Own Parliament, so
" they desired no other Justice to be done against
" these Two criminal Persons but what should
" seem good to the Wisdom of the Parliament."

It was easily discerned (by those who saw at any distance, and who had been long jealous of that trick) from that expression concerning *Their Own Country-men*, that they meant no harm to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, against Whom, in the beginning of the Rebellion, all their Bitterness seemed to be directed, and Who was thought to have the least portion of kindness or good will from the three Nations, of any man who related to the King's Service.

But he had, by the Friendship he had showed to the Lord *Lowden*, and procuring his Liberty, when he was in the Tower for so notorious a Treason, and was to be at the head of another as soon as he should be at Liberty; and by his application and dexterity at *York* in the meeting of the great Council, and with the *Scottish* Commissioners employed thither before the Treaty; and by his promise of Future Offices and Services, which he made good abundantly; procured as well from the *English* as the *Scots*, all assurance of Indemnity: which they so diligently made good, that they were not more solicitous to contrive and find out Evidence or Information against the other Two great men; than they were to prevent all Information or Complaint, and to stifle all Evidence, which was offered, or could be produced against the Marquis.

And they were exceedingly vigilant to prevent the *Scottish* Commissioners entering into any Familiarity, or Conversation with any who were not fast to Their party: Infomuch as one day the Earl of *Roths* walking in *Westminster*. Hall with Mr. *Hyde*, towards whom he had a kindness by reason of their mutual Friendship with some Persons of Honor, and they Two walking towards the Gate to take Coach to make a Visit together, the Earl on a sudden desired the other "to walk towards the Coach," and he would overtake him by the time he came "thither"; but staying very long, He imagined he might be diverted from his purpose, and so walked back into the Hall, where presently meeting him, they Both pursued their former intention; and

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III.

being in the Coach, the Earl told him, " that he
" must excuse his having made him stay so long,
" because he had been detained only concerning
" Him; that when he was walking with him, a
" Gentleman passing by touched his Cloak, which
" made him desire the other to go before; and
" turning to the other person, He said, That seeing
" him walk in some familiarity with Mr. *Hyde* he
" thought himself obliged to tell him, that he walked
" with the greatest Enemy the *Scottish* Nation had
" in the Parliament, and that he ought to take heed
" how he communicated any thing of Importance
" to him; and that after he was parted with that
" Gentleman, before he could pass through the Hall,
" four or five other Eminent men, severally, gave
" him the same advertisement and caution;" and then
spoke as unconcernedly and as merrily of the Persons
and Their Jealousy as the other could do. Men who
were so Sagacious in pursuing their point, were
not like to miscarry.

The first Compliment They put upon the *Scottish*
Commissioners was, that They were caressed by
Both Houses with all possible expressions of Kind-
ness at least, if not of Submission, and an Order was
carefully entered, " that upon all occasions the Ap-
" pellation should be used of (*Our Brethren of*
" *Scotland*) and upon That," wonderful kind
Compliments passed, of a sincere resolution of
Amity and Union between the two Nations.

Things being thus constituted, it became them
to satisfy the public expectation in the Discovery
of their new Treasons, and in speedy Proceedings

against those Two great Persons. For the better preparing whereof, and facilitating whatever else should be necessary for that enterprize, the *Scottish* Commissioners in the Name of that Nation, presented (as is said before) two distinct Declarations, against the Persons of the Arch-Bishop and the Earl of *Strafford*, stuffed with as much Bitterness and Virulency as can be imagined, making Them “the
 “ odious Incendiaries of the Differences between
 “ the two Nations, and the Original Causes of all
 “ those Calamities in that Kingdom which begot
 “ those Differences, and most pathetically pressing
 “ for Justice against them Both.” These Discourses (for each of them consisted of many Sheets of Paper) were publicly read in both Houses; That against the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was for the present laid, aside, and I am persuaded, at that time, without any thought of resuming it, hoping that his Age and imprisonment would have quickly freed them from farther trouble. But a speedy Proceeding against the Other was vehemently pressed, as of no less importance than the Peace between the two Kingdoms, not without some intimation, “that there could be no expectation
 “ that the *Scottish* Army would ever retire into
 “ their Country, and consequently that the King’s
 “ Army could be disbanded, before exemplary
 “ Justice was done upon that Earl to Their satisfaction.” When they had inflamed men with this consideration sufficiently; They, without any great difficulty (in order to the necessary expedition for that Trial) prevailed in two Propositions of

B O O K
 III.

Proceedings
 towards the
 Earl of
Strafford’s
 Trial.

B O O K most Fatal consequence to the King's service; and
 III. to the Safety and Integrity of all Honest men.

The First, " for a Committee to be settled of
 " both Houses for the taking Preparatory Exami-
 " nations." Thus the Allegation was, " That the
 " Charge against the Earl of *Strafford* was of an
 " extraordinary nature, being to make a Treason
 " evident out of a complication of several ill acts;
 " That he must be traced through many dark paths,
 " and This Precedent seditious Discourse compared
 " with That Subsequent outrageous Action, the
 " Circumstances of both which, might be equally
 " considerable with the Matter itself; and therefore
 " that before this Charge could be so directly made
 " and prepared as was necessary" (for he was
 hitherto only accused generally of Treason) " it
 " was requisite, that a Committee should be made
 " of both Houses to examine some Witnesses upon
 " Oath, upon whose Depositions, his Impeachment
 " would easily be framed." This was no sooner
 proposed in the House of Commons, than consented
 to; and upon as little debate yielded to by the Lords;
 and the Committee settled according: without
 considering that such an Inquisition (besides that
 the same was contrary to the Practice of former
 times) would easily prepare a Charge against the
 most Innocent man alive; where that liberty should
 be taken to examine a man's whole life; and all
 the light, and all the private discourses had past
 from him, might be tortured, perverted, and applied,
 according to the conscience and the craft of a
 Diligent and Malicious Prosecution.

The Second was, “ for the Examining upon B O O K
 “ Oath Privy-Counsellors, upon such matters as III.
 “ had passed at the Council-Table.” The Allegation
 “ for this was, “ That the principal Ingredient into
 “ the Treason with which the Earl was to be char-
 “ ged, was, a purpose to Change the Form of
 “ Government; and, instead of That settled by
 “ Law, to introduce a Power merely Arbitrary.
 “ Now this design must be made Evident, as well
 “ by the Advices which he gave, and the Expres-
 “ sions he uttered upon Emergent Occasions, as
 “ by his Public Actions; and Those could not be
 “ discovered, at least not proved, but by Those
 “ who were Present at such consultations, and
 “ They were only Privy-Counsellors.” As it was
 “ alledged, “ That at his coming from *Ireland* the
 “ Earl had said in Council there; That if ever he
 “ returned to that Sword again, he would not leave
 “ a *Scottish* man in that Kingdom: and at his arrival
 “ in this Kingdom, the Lord Mayor and some
 “ Aldermen of *London* attending the Board about
 “ the Loan of Moneys, and not giving that
 “ Satisfaction was expected, that He should pull
 “ a Letter out of his pocket, and show what course
 “ the King of *France* then took for the raising of
 “ Money; and that He should tell the King, That it
 “ would never be well till he hanged up a Lord
 “ Mayor of *London* in the City to terrify the rest.”

There was no greater difficulty to satisfy the
 House of Commons with the Reasonableness of
 this, than of the former; but the Compassing it,
 was not like to be easy; for it was visible, that

BOOK III. though the Lords should join with them (which was not to be despaired) the Privy-Counsellors would insist upon the Oath they had taken, and pretend "that without the King's consent they might not discover any thing that had passed at that Board; so that the greatest difficulty would be, The procuring the King's consent for the betraying Himself: but This must be insisted on, for God forbid that it might be safe for any desperate wicked Counsellor to propose and advise at that Board" (which in the intervals of Parliaments wholly disposed the affairs of State) "courses destructive to the health and being of the Kingdom; and that the Sovereign Physician, the Parliament (which had the only skill to cure those contagious and epidemical diseases) should be hindered from preserving the Public, because no Evidence must be given of such corrupt and wicked Counsels" And so provided with this specious Oratory, they desire the Lords "to concur with Them for this necessary Examination of Privy-Counsellors;" Who, without much debate (for the Persons concerned knew well their Acts were visible and public enough, and therefore considered not much what Words had passed) consented; and appointed some to attend the King for His consent: Who, not well weighing the Consequence; and being in Public Council unanimously advised "to consent to it; and that the not doing it would lay some taint upon his Council, and be a tacit confession, that there had been agitations at that place which would not endure the light; Yielded that

they should be examined: which was speedily done accordingly, by the Committee of both Houses appointed for that purpose. BOOK
III.

The Damage was not to be expressed, and the Ruin that last act brought to the King was irreparable; for, besides that it served Their turn (which no question they had discovered before) to prove those words against the Earl of *Strafford*, which Sir *Henry Vane* so punctually remembered (as you shall find at the Earl's Trial) and besides, that it was matter of horror to the Counsellors, to find that They might be arraigned for every rash, every inconsiderate, every imperious expression or word they had used There; and so made them more engaged to fervile applications: it banished for ever all future freedom from that Board, and those Persons, from whom his Majesty was to expect advice in his greatest streights; all men satisfying themselves, "that they were no more obliged to deliver their opinions There freely, when they might be Impeached in another place for so doing;" and the evincing this so useful Doctrine, was without doubt more the design of those grand Managers, than any hope they had, of receiving further Information thereby, than they had before.

And for my part I must ask leave of those Noble Lords, Who after the King's consent gave themselves liberty to be Examined, to say; that if they had well considered the Oath they had taken when they were admitted to that Society, which was (*To keep Secret all matters committed and revealed to them, or that should be treated of secretly in*

BOOK III. Council) they would not have believed, that the King Himself could have dispensed with that Part of their Oath. It is true, there is another clause in their Oath, that allows them with the King's consent to reveal a matter of Council: but that is, Only what shall touch another Counsellor; which they are not to do without the leave of the King, or the Council.

It was now time to mind Themselves, as well as the Public, and to Repair, as well as Pull Down; and therefore, as the principal reason (as was said before) for the accusing those Two great Persons of High-Treason (that is, of the general Consent to it before any Evidence was required) was, that they might be removed from the King's Presence and his Counsels, without which they conceived Theirs would have no power with him; so That being compassed, care was taken to infuse into the King by Marquis *Hamilton* (Who you heard before was licensed to take care of Himself; and was now of great intimacy with the Governing and Undertaking Party) "that his Majesty having declared
 "to his People, that He really intended a Reformation of all those Extravagancies which former
 "necessities, or occasions, or mistakes, had brought
 "into the Government of Church or State: He
 "could not give a more lively and demonstrable
 "Evidence, and a more gracious Instance of
 "such his intention, than by calling such Persons
 "to his Council, Whom the People generally
 "thought most inclined to, and intent upon, such
 "Reformation: Besides, that this would be a good

“ means to preserve the dignity and just power
 “ of that Board, which might otherwise, on the
 “ account of the late excess and violation, be more
 “ subject to inconvenient attempts for the Future.”

Hereupon in one day were sworn Privy - Coun-
 fellors, much to the public joy, the Earl of *Hertford*,
 (whom the King afterwards made Marquis) the Earl
 of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Bristol*,
 the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Savile*, and the Lord *Kim-*
bolton; and within two or three days after, the Earl
 of *Warwick*: being All persons at that time very
 gracious to the People, or to the *Scots*, by whose
 election and discretion the People chose; and had
 been All in some umbrage at Court, and Most in
 visible disfavor there. This act the King did very
 cheerfully; heartily inclined to Some of them, as
 He had reason; and not apprehending any Incon-
 venience by that Act from the Others, whom he
 thought this light of his grace would Reform, or
 at least Restrain.

Divers new
 Privy Coun-
 fellors sworn
 of the popular
 Party.

But the calling and admitting men to that Board
 is not a work that can be indifferent: the Repu-
 tation, if not the Government of the State depend-
 ing on it. And though, it may be, there hath been
 too much Curiosity heretofore used to discover
 men's humors in particular points, before they have
 received that Honor; whereas possibly such differ-
 ences were rather to have been desired than avoided:
 yet there are certain Opinions, certain Propositions,
 and General Principles, that Whosoever does not
 hold, and does not believe, is not, without great
 danger, to be accepted for a Privy - Counsellor.

B O O K As, Whosoever is not fixed to Monarchical
 III. grounds, the preservation and upholding whereof is the chief End of such a Council: Whosoever doth not believe that in order to that great End, there is a Dignity, a Freedom, a Jurisdiction most essential to be preserved In, and To that place; and takes not the Preservation thereof to heart; ought never to be received there. What in prudence is to be done towards that End, admits a latitude that honest and wise men may safely and profitably differ in; and those Differences (which I said before there was too much unskilful care to prevent) usually produce great advantages in knowledge and wisdom: but the End itself, that which the Logicians call the *Terminus ad quem*, ought always to be a *postulatum*, which Whosoever doubts, destroys: and Princes cannot be too strict, too tender, in this consideration, in constituting the body of their Privy-Council; upon the Prudent doing whereof, much of their Safety; more of their Honor and Reputation (which is the Life itself of Princes) both at home and abroad necessarily depends: and the Inadvertencies in this Point, have been, mediately or immediately, the Root and the Spring of most of the Calamities that have ensued.

Two Reasons have been frequently given by Princes for Oversights, or for Wilful Breaches, in this important dispensation of their Favors The first, "that such a man can do no harm;" when God knows, few men have done more harm than Those who have been thought to be able to do least; and there cannot be a greater error than to believe,

believe, a man whom we see qualified with too mean parts to do good, to be therefore incapable of doing hurt: there is a supply of Malice, of Pride, of Industry, and even of Folly, in the Weakest, when He sets his heart upon it, that makes a strange progress in Mischief. The Second, "when Persons of ordinary faculties, either upon importunity, or other collateral respects, have been introduced There, that it is but a place of Honor, and a general testimony of the King's affection;" and so it hath been, as it were reserved, as a preferment for Those, who were fit for no other preferment. As amongst the Jesuits they have a Rule, That they who are unapt for greater Studies, shall study cases of Conscience. By this means the Number hath been increased, which in itself breeds great Inconveniences; since a Less number are fitter both for Counsel and Despatch, in matters of the greatest moment, that depend upon a quick execution, than a Greater number of men equally honest and wise: and for That, and other reasons of Unaptness and Incompetency, Committees of dexterous men have been appointed out of the Table to do the business of it; and so men have been no sooner exalted with the Honorable title, and pleased with the obligation of being made Privy - Counsellors, than they have checked that delight with discerning that they were not fully trusted; and so have been more incensed with the Reproachful distinction At, than obliged with the Honorable admission To that Board, where they do not find all persons equally Members. And by this

B O O K
I H.

B O O K kind of Resentment, many sad Inconveniencies have
 III. befallen the King, and Those men Who have had the honor and misfortune of those secret trusts.

The truth is, the sinking and near desperate condition of Monarchy in this Kingdom can never be buoyed up, but by a prudent and steady Council attending upon the virtue and vivacity of the King; nor be preserved and improved when it is up, but by cherishing and preserving the wisdom, integrity, dignity, and reputation, of that Council: the lustre whereof always reflects upon the King himself; who is not thought a Great Monarch when he follows only his own Reason and Appetite; but when, for the informing his Reason, and guiding his Actions, he uses the service, industry, and faculties, of the Wisest men. And though it hath been, and will be, always necessary to admit to those Counsels some men of great Power, who will not take the pains to improve their great parts; yet the Number of the whole should not be too great; and the Capacities and Qualities of the most should be fit for business; that is, either for Judgment, and Despatch; or for One of them at least: and for Integrity above all.

This Digression (much longer than was intended) will not appear very impertinent, when the great disservice shall appear, which befel the King by the swearing those Lords formerly mentioned (I speak but of some of them) Privy-Counsellors. For instead of exercising themselves in their new Province, and endeavouring to preserve and vindicate that Jurisdiction; they looked upon themselves as preferred

thither, by their reputation in Parliament, not by the kindness and esteem of the King; and so resolved to keep up principally the greatness of that Place, to which they thought they owed their Own greatness. And therefore when the King required the Advice of his Privy-Council, in those matters of the highest importance which were then every day incumbent on Him, the new Privy-Counsellors positively declared, "that They might not (that was, that no body might) give his Majesty any advice in matters depending in the two Houses, which was not agreeable to the sense of the two Houses; which They called his Great Council, by Whose wisdom he was entirely to guide himself." As this doctrine was insidiously and perniciously urged by some; so it was supinely and stupidly submitted to by others: insomuch as the King, in a moment found himself bereaved of all Public assistance and advice, in a time when he needed it most; and his greatest, and, upon the matter, his only business, being prudently to weigh and consider What to Consent to, and What to Deny, of such things as should be Proposed to him by the two Houses, He was now told, "that He was only to be Advised by Them;" which was as much as to say, that He must do whatsoever They desired of him.

Whereas in truth, it is not only Lawful for the Privy-Council, but their Duty, to give faithfully and freely Their advice to the King upon all matters concluded in Parliament, to which his Royal assent is necessary, as well as upon any other subject whatsoever. Nay a Privy-Counsellor, as Such,

B O O K is bound to dissuade the King from consenting to that which is Prejudicial to the Crown, at least
III. to make that Prejudice manifest to him; though as a private person he could with the matter consented to. And therefore, by the constitution of the Kingdom, and the constant practice of Former times, all Bills after they had passed both Houses, were delivered by the Clerk of the Parliament to the Clerk of the Crown; and by him brought to the Attorney General; who presented the same to the King sitting in Council; and having read them, declared what Alterations were made by those Bills to former Laws; and what Benefit or Detriment, in Profit or Jurisdiction, would accrue thereby to the Crown: and then upon a full and free debate by his Counsellors, the King resolved accordingly upon such Bills as were to be enacted into Laws; and respited the other that he thought not fit to consent to. As this hath been the known Practice, so the Reason is very visible; that the Royal Assent being a distinct and essential part towards the making a Law, there should be as much care taken to inform the Understanding and Conscience of the King upon those occasions, as Theirs, who prepare the same for his Royal assent.

Great Licence
 in Preaching
 and Printing.

That it might appear that what was done Within the Houses, was agreeable to those who were Without; and that the same Spirit reigned in Parliament, and People; all possible licence was exercised in Preaching, and Printing any old Scandalous Pamphlets, and adding New to them against the Church: Petitions presented by many Parishioners

against their Pastors, with Articles of their Misdemeanours and Behaviours; most whereof consisted, "in their Bowing at the name of *Jesus*, " and obliging the Communicants to come up to " the Altar" (as they enviously called it) that is, to the Rails which enclosed the Communion-Table "to receive the Sacrament." All which Petitions were Read with great delight, and presently referred to the Committee about Religion; where Mr *White*, a grave Lawyer, but notoriously disaffected to the Church, sat in the Chair; and then both Petition and Articles were suffered to be Printed and Published (a licence never practised before) that the People might be inflamed against the Clergy; who were quickly taught, to call all Those against whom such Petitions and Articles were exhibited (which were frequently done by a few of the Rabble, and meanest of the People, against the sense and judgment of the Parish) *the Scandalous Clergy*; which Appellation was frequently applied to men of great Gravity and Learning, and the most Unblemished lives

B O O K

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There cannot be a better Instance of the Unruly and Mutinous Spirit of the City of *London*, which was then the Sink of all the ill humors of the Kingdom, than the Triumphant Entry which some Persons at that time made into *London*, who had been before seen upon Pillories, and Stigmatized as Libellous and Infamous Offenders: of which *classis* of men scarce any age can afford the like.

The Entry
of Pryn,
Raftwick,
and Burron,
into London.

There had been Three persons of several Pro.

B O O K III. feffions some years before Censured in the Star-Chamber, *William Pryn* a Barrister of *Lincoln's-Inn*, *John Bastwick* a Doctor of Physic, and *Henry Burton* a Minister and Lecturer of *London*.

The First, not unlearned in the Profession of the Law, as far as Learning is acquired by the mere reading of Books; but being a person of great Industry, had spent more time in reading Divinity; and which marred that Divinity, in the conversation of Factious and Hot-headed Divines: and so, by a mixture of all three, with the rudeness and arrogance of his Own nature, had contracted a Proud and Venomous Dislike to the discipline of the Church of *England*; and so by degrees (as the Progress is very natural) an equal Irreverence to the Government of the State too; both which he vented in several absurd, petulant, and supercilious Discourses in Print.

The Second, a half-witted, crack-brained Fellow, unknown to either University, or the College of Physicians; but one that had spent his time abroad, between the Schools and the Camp (for he had been in or passed through Armies) and had gotten a Doctorship, and Latin; with which, in a very flowing style, with some wit and much malice, he Inveighed against the Prelates of the Church in a Book which he printed in *Holland*, and industriously dispersed in *London*, and throughout the Kingdom; having presumed (as their Modesty is always equal to their Obedience) to Dedicate it *to the Sacred Majesty of the King*.

The Third, had formerly a kind of relation by

Service to the King ; having, before he took Orders, waited as Closet-keeper, and so attended at Canonical hours with the Books of Devotion upon his Majesty when he was Prince of *Wales* ; and a little before the death of King *James* took Orders : and so his Highness coming shortly to be King ; the vapors of Ambition fuming into his head that he was still to keep his Place, he would not think of less than being Clerk of the Closet to the new King, which Place his Majesty conferred upon, or rather continued in, the Bishop of *Durham*, Doctor *Neyl*, who had long served King *James* there. Mr. *Burton* thus disappointed, and, as He called it, despoiled of his Right, would not, in the greatness of his heart, sit down by the affront ; but committed two or three such weak, saucy indiscretions, as caused an Inhibition to be sent him, “ that he should not presume “ to come any more to Court : ” and from that time he resolved to Revenge himself of the Bishop of *Durham*, upon the whole Order ; and so turned Lecturer and Preached against Them ; being endued with Malice and Boldness, instead of Learning and any tolerable Parts.

These Three persons having been for several follies and libelling humors, first gently Reprehended ; and after, for their Incurribleness, more severely Censured and Imprisoned ; found some means in Prison of Correspondence, which was not before known to be between them ; and to combine themselves, in a more Pestilent and Seditious Libel than they had ever before vented ; in which the Honor of the King, Queen, Counsellors, and Bishops,

BOOK III. was with equal licence blasted and traduced ; which was faithfully dispersed by their Profelytes in the City. The Authors were quickly and easily known, and had indeed too much ingenuity to deny it ; and were thereupon brought together to the Star-Chamber *ore tenus* ; where they behaved themselves with marvellous Insolence ; with full confidence demanding “ that the Bishops who sate in the Court ” (being only the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *London*) “ might not be present, because “ they were Enemies, and so Parties : ” which, how scandalous and ridiculous soever it seemed then There, was good Logic and good Law two years after in *Scotland*, and served to banish the Bishops of that Kingdom both from the Council-Table and the Assembly. Upon a very patient and solemn Hearing, in as full a Court as ever I saw in that place, without any difference in opinion or dissenting voice, they were all Three censured as Scandalous, Seditious, and Infamous persons, “ to lose their “ Ears in the Pillory, and to be imprisoned in several Jails during the King’s pleasure : ” all which was executed with Rigor and Severity enough. But yet their itch of Libelling still broke out ; and their Friends of the City found a line of Communication with them. Hereupon the Wisdom of the State thought fit, that those Infectious Sores should breathe out their Corruption in some Air more remote from that catching City, and less liable to the contagion : and so, by an Order of the Lords of the Council, Mr. *Pryn* was sent to a Castle in the Island of *Jersey* ; Dr. *Bastwick* to *Scilly* ; and Mr. *Burton* to *Guernsey* ;

where they remained unconsidered, and truly I think unpitied (for they were men of no virtue or merit) for the space of Two years, till the beginning of this present Parliament. BOOK III.

Shortly upon that, Petitions were presented by their Wives or Friends, to the House of Commons, expressing "their heavy Censures and long Sufferings;" and desiring, by way of Appeal, "that the justice and rigor of that Sentence might be reviewed and considered; and that their Persons might be brought from those remote and desolate places to *London*, that so they might be able to facilitate or attend their own business." The sending for them out of Prison (which was the main) took up much consideration: for though very Many who had no kindness, had yet compassion for the men; thinking they had suffered enough; and that though they were scurvy Fellows, they had been scurvily used: and Others, had not only affection to their Persons as having suffered for a Common cause; but were concerned to revive and improve their useful faculties of Libelling and Reviling Authority; and to make those ebullitions of their malice not thought noisome to the State: Yet a Sentence of a supreme Court, the Star-Chamber (of which they had not Yet spoke with Irreverence) was not lightly to be blown off: but, when they were informed, and had considered, that by that Sentence the Petitioners were condemned to some Prisons in *London*; and were afterward removed thence by an Order of the Lords of the Council; they looked upon that Order as a violation of the

B O O K Sentence: and so made no scruple to Order “ that
 III. “ the Prisoners should be removed from those foreign
 “ Prisons, to the Places to which they were regu-
 “ larly first committed. ” And to that purpose, War-
 rants were signed by the Speaker, to the Gover-
 nors and Captains of the several Castles, “ to bring
 “ them in safe custody to *London*: ” which were
 sent with all possible expedition.

Pryn and *Burton* being Neighbours (though in
 distinct Islands) landed at the same time at *South-*
ampton; where they were received and entertained
 with extraordinary demonstrations of Affection and
 Esteem; attended by a marvellous conflux of Com-
 pany; and their Charges not only born with great
 magnificence, but liberal Presents given to them.
 And this method and ceremony kept them Company
 all their journey, great herds of People meeting
 them at their entrance into all Towns, and waiting
 upon them out with wonderful acclamations of joy.
 When they came near to *London*, multitudes of
 People of several conditions, some on Horseback,
 others on Foot, met them some miles from the
 Town; very many having been a day’s journey; and
 they were brought, about two of the Clock in the
 Afternoon, in at *Charing-cross* and carried into the
 City by above ten thousand persons, with Boughs
 and Flowers in their hands; the Common People
 strewing Flowers and Herbs in the ways as they
 passed, making great noise, and expressions of joy
 for their Deliverance and Return; and in those ac-
 clamations, mingling loud and virulent exclamations

against the Bishops, "who had so cruelly prosecuted B O O K
 "such Godly men." In the same manner, within III.
 five or six days after, and in like Triumph, Dr.
Bastwick, returned from *Scilly*; landing at *Dover*; and
 from thence bringing the same testimonies of the
 Affections and Zeal of *Kent*, as the others had done
 from *Hampshire* and *Surrey*, was met before he
 came to *Southwark* by the good People of *London*,
 and so conducted to his lodging likewise in the
 City.

I should not have wasted thus much time in a
 discourse of this nature, but that it is, and was
 Then evident, that this Insurrection (for it was no
 better) and Frenzy of the People, was an effect of
 great Industry and Policy, to try and publish the
 Temper of the People; and to satisfy Themselves,
 in the activity and interest of their Tribunes, to
 whom that province of Showing them was com-
 mitted. And from this time, the licence of Preaching
 and Printing increased, to that degree, that all
 Pulpits were freely delivered to the Schismatical and
 Silenced Preachers, who till then had lurked in
 corners, or lived in *New-England*; and the Presses
 at liberty for the publishing the most Invective,
 Seditious, and Scurrilous Pamphlets, that their Wit
 and Malice could invent. Whilst the Ministers of
 the State, and Judges of the Law, like men in an
 Ecstasy, surpris'd and amazed with several Appari-
 tions, had no Speech or Motion; as if, having
 committed such an Excess of Jurisdiction (as men
 upon great Surfeits are enjoined for a time to eat
 nothing) they had been prescribed to exercise no

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Jurisdiction at all. Whereas, without doubt, if either the Privy-Council, or the Judges and the King's learned Council, had assumed the courage to have Questioned the Preaching, or the Printing, or the Seditious Riots upon the Triumph of those three Scandalous men, before the uninterrupted and security had confirmed the People in all three; it had been no hard matter to have destroyed those Seeds, and pulled up those Plants, which being neglected, grew up and prospered to a full Harvest of Rebellion and Treason. But this was yet but a rudeness and rankness Abroad, without any visible countenance or approbation from the Parliament: all seemed Chaste within those Walls.

The first Malignity that was apparent There (for the Accusation of the Arch Bishop and the Earl of *Strafford*, were looked upon as acts of Passion, directed against particular Persons, who were thought to have deserved some extraordinary measures and proceeding) was against the Church: First, in their Committee for Religion; which had been assumed ever since the latter times of King *James*, though seldom or never any such thing had Before been heard of in Parliament; where, under pretence of receiving Petitions against Clergymen, they often debated Points beyond the verge of Their understanding: Then, by their cheerful reception of a Declaration of many Sheets of Paper against the whole Government of the Church; presented by ten or a dozen Ministers, at the Bar; and pretended to be signed, by several Hundreds of the Ministers of *London* and the Counties adjacent: and a

A Declaration of some Ministers, and a Petition of some Citizens, against the

Petition, presented by Alderman *Pennington*, and alledged to be subscribed by Twenty Thousand men, Inhabitants within the City of *London*; who required, in plain terms, “the total Extirpation of “Episcopacy.” Yet the House was Then so far from being possessed with that Spirit, that the utmost that could be obtained, upon a long debate upon that Petition, was, “that it should not be “rejected;” against which the Number of the Petitioners was urged as a powerful Argument; only it was suffered to remain in the hands of the Clerk of the House, with direction, “that no Copy of it “should be given.” And for the Ministers Declaration, one Part only of it, was Insisted on by them, and Read in the House; which concerned the exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and the Excess of Their Courts: the other parts were Declined by Many of them, and especially Ordered, “to be “Sealed up by the Clerk, that they might be perused by no man.” So that all that Envy and Animosity against the Church, seemed to be resolved into a desire, “that a Bill might be framed to Remove the Bishops from their Votes in the Lords “House, and from any Office in Secular affairs;” which was the utmost men pretended to wish: and to such a purpose, a Bill was shortly after prepared, and brought into the House; of which, more shall be said in its proper place.

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III.
Government
of the Church
by Bishops.

It was a strange Disingenuity, that was practised in the Procuring those Petitions; which continued ever after, in the like Addresses. The course was, First to prepare a Petition very modest and dutiful,

Great Dis-
ingenuity used
in procuring
Petitions.

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for the Form; and for the Matter, not very unreasonable; and to communicate it at some Public Meeting, were care was taken it should be received with Approbation: the Subscription of very Few hands filled the Paper itself, where the Petition was written, and therefore many more Sheets were annexed, for the reception of the Number, which gave all the credit, and procured all the countenance to the Undertaking. When a Multitude of Hands was procured, the Petition it-Self was cut off; and a New One framed, suitable to the design in hand, and annexed to the long List of Names which were Subscribed to the Former. By this means, Many men found Their hands Subscribed to Petitions, of which, They before had never heard. As several Ministers, whose Hands were to the Petition and Declaration of the *London*-Ministers before mentioned, have professed to many Persons, “that They
 “ never saw That Petition or Declaration before it
 “ was presented to the House; but had signed
 “ Another, the Substance of which was, Not to be
 “ Compelled to take the Oath enjoined by the New
 “ Canons: and when they found, instead of That,
 “ their Names set to a desire of an Alteration of the
 “ Government of the Church, They with much
 “ trouble went to Mr. *Marshall*, with whom they
 “ had intrusted the Petition and their Hands; who
 “ gave them no other Answer, but that it was
 “ thought fit by Those who understood Business
 “ better than They, that the Latter Petition should
 “ rather be preferred than the Former.” And when
 He found, they intended by some Public Act to

Vindicate themselves from that Calumny; Such persons, upon whom they had their greatest dependence, were engaged, by threats and promises to prevail with them, to Sit still, and to pass by that Indirect proceeding.

For the better facilitating and making way for those virulent attempts upon the Church, Petitions and Complaints were exhibited against the Exorbitant Acts of some Bishops; especially against the Bishops of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Ely*; who, they alledged, “ had with great Pride and Insolence, “ provoked all the Gentry, and Most of the Inhabitants within their Dioceses. And the New Canons were insisted on, as a most palpable Invasion by the Whole Body of the Clergy, upon the Laws and Liberty of the People.”

Complaints
against some
particular
Bishops.

And against
the New
Canons.

I said before, that after the Dissolution of the former Short Parliament, the Convocation was continued by special Warrant from the King; and by his Majesty, in a solemn message sent to them by Sir *Henry Vane* then Principal Secretary, “ required to proceed in the making of Canons, for “ the better Peace and Quiet of the Church.” Notwithstanding this Command, the Chief of the Clergy, well knowing the Spirit of Bitterness that was contracted against them; and many obsolete Pamphlets against their Jurisdiction and Power, being, since the Commotions in *Scotland*, revived and published with more freedom; desired his Majesty, “ that the “ Opinions of the Judges might be known and “ declared, Whether They might then Lawfully “ Sit, the Parliament being Dissolved, and proceed

- BOOK " in the making of Canons; as likewise, upon other
 III. " Particulars in Their Jurisdiction, which had been
 " most Inveighed against? "

All the Judges of *England*, upon a mature debate, in the presence of the King's Council, under their Hands asserted, " the Power of the Convocation in making Canons, and those other parts of Jurisdiction, which had been so Enviously questioned. " Hereupon, They proceeded; and having Composed a Body of Canons, presented the same to his Majesty, for his Royal Approbation. They were then again debated at the Council-Board; not without notable Opposition: for upon some lessening the Power and Authority of their Chancellors, and their Commissaries, by those Canons, the Professors of that Law took themselves to be Disobliged; and Sir *Henry Martin* (who was not likely to oversee any advantages) upon several days of Hearing at the Council-Table, with his utmost skill Objected against them: but in the end, by the entire and unanimous Advice of the Privy-Council, the Canons were Confirmed by the King, under the Great Seal of *England*; and thereby enjoined to be observed. So that whatsoever they were, the Judges were at least as Guilty of the First Presumption in Framing them; and the Lords of the Council, in Publishing and Executing them; as the Bishops, or the rest of the Clergy, in Either.

Yet the Storm fell wholly on the Church: and the Matter of those Canons, and the Manner of making them, was insisted on, as a pregnant testimony of

a Malignant Spirit in the very Function of the Bishops. The truth is, the season in which that Synod continued to Sit (as was observed before) was in so ill a Conjunction of time (upon the Dissolution of a Parliament, and almost in an Invasion from Scotland) that nothing could have been transacted There, of a Popular and Prevailing influence. And then, some sharp Canons against Sectaries; and some Additionals in point of Ceremonies, countenancing, though not enjoining what had not been long practised, infinitely inflamed Some, and troubled Others: Who jointly took advantage of what strictly was amiss; as the making an Oath, the Matter of which was conceived Incongruous; and enjoining it to many of the Laity, as well as the Clergy; and likewise the Granting of Subsidies.

So that the House of Commons (that is, the major part) made no scruple, in that Heat, to declare, "that the Convocation - House had no Power at all of making Canons: notwithstanding that it was apparent by the Law, and uncontradicted Practice of the Church, that Canons had never been otherwise made: "and that those Canons contained in them, matter of Sedition and Reproach to the Regal Power; prejudicial to the Liberty and Property of the Subject; and to the Privileges of Parliament." By the extent of which notable Vote and Declaration, they had involved almost the whole Clergy under the guilt of Arbitrary Proceedings; as much as they had done the Nobility and Gentry before, under their Votes against Lords Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Privy-Confessors,

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which are
condemned by
the House of
Commons.

B O O K and Sheriffs; of which they made the same use: as
 III. shall be remembered in its proper place.

Money borrowed of the City by the two Houses, for supplying the two Armies.

In the mean time, the two Armies, were necessarily to be provided for, lest the Countries where their Quarters were, should come to be oppressed by free Quarter; which would not only raise a very inconvenient noise, but introduce a necessity of Disbanding the Armies, which They were in no degree ready for: and Money not being to be raised soon enough in the regular way, by Act of Parliament, which would require some time in the passing; besides, that the Manner and Way of raising it had not been enough considered; and the Collecting it would require much time, even after an Act of Parliament should be passed: Therefore for the present Supply, it was thought fit to make use of Their Credit with the City; to Whom a formal Embassy of Lords and Commons was sent; which were carefully chosen of Such Persons as carried the business of the House before them, that the performing the Service, might be as well imputed to Their particular reputation and interest, as to the affection of the City: and these men in their Orations to the Citizens, undertook "that their Money should be repaid with "Interest by the Care of the Parliament." And this was the First Introduction of the Public Faith; which grew afterwards to be applied to all Monstrous purposes.

This Expedient succeeded twice or thrice for such Sums as They thought fit to require; which were only enough to carry on their affairs, and

keep them in motion; not proportionable to discharge the Debt due to the Armies, but to enable them to Pay their Quarters: it being fit to keep a considerable Debt still owing, lest they should appear too ready to be Disbanded.

They had likewise another Design in this Commerce with the City; which, always upon the loan of Money, used to recommend some such thing to the Parliament, as might advance the Designs of the Party; "as the Proceeding against Delinquents;" or "some Reformation in the Church:" which the Managers knew well what Use to make of upon any emergency. When They had set this Traffic on foot in the City, and so brought their Friends There into more reputation and activity; Then, at Their Election for Common-Council-men (which is every Year before *Christmas*; and in which, New men had rarely used to be chosen, except in case of Death, but the Old still continued) all the grave and substantial Citizens were left out; and Such chosen, as were most Eminent for opposing, the Government, and most disaffected to the Church, though of never so mean Estates: which made a present, visible alteration, in the Temper of the City (the Common-Council having so great a share in the management of affairs There) and even in the Government itself.

Other Ways were now to be thought of for getting of Money, which was, once at least every Month, called for very importunately by the *Scottish* Commissioners; which caused the same provision to be

BOOK III. made for the *English* Forces. The next Expedient was, "That in so great an Exigence, and for the
 " Public Peace; that the Armies might not enter
 " into Blood, by the determination of the Cessation,
 " which want of Pay would inevitably produce;
 " The several Members of the House would
 " lend Money, according to their several abilities;
 " or that Such as had no Money, would become
 " Bound for it: and upon these terms enough could
 " be borrowed." This was no sooner Proposed, but Consented to, by all the eminent Leaders; and by many Others, in order to make themselves the more acceptable to Those; and some did it for Their Own convenience, there being little hazard of their Money, and full Interest to be received, and believing it would facilitate the Disbanding of the Armies; to which, all Sober men's hearts were directed.

And now, to support their stock of Credit, it was time to raise Money upon the People by Act of Parliament; which they had an Excuse for not doing in the usual way, "of giving it immediately
 " to the King, to be paid into the Exchequer;
 " because the Public Faith was so deeply engaged
 " to the City for a great Debt; and so Many
 " particular Members in the Loan of Moneys, and
 " in being Bound for the Payment of great Sums,
 " for which their Estates were liable: and Therefore it was but reason, that for Their Indemnity,
 " the Money that was to be raised, should be paid
 " into the hands of Particular Members of the
 " House, named by Them; who should take care

“ to Discharge all Public Engagements.” The first **B O O K**
 Bill they passed being but for two Subsidies, which **III.**
 was not sufficient to discharge any considerable part **A Bill passed**
 of the Money borrowed, They inserted in the **for raising two**
 Bill the Commissioners Names, who were to Receive **Subsidies; the**
 and Dispose the Money. And the King made no **House of Com-**
 pause in the Passing it: Himself not considering the **mons naming**
 Consequence of it; and None about him having the **Commissioners**
 courage to Represent it to him. **to receive the**
Money.

From that time, there was no Bill passed for the **The same me-**
 raising of Money, but it was disposed of in the same, **thod after-**
 or the like manner; that none of it could be applied **wards con-**
 to the King's use, or by His direction. And They **tinued.**
 likewise took notice, “that from the time of his
 “ Majesty's coming to the Crown, He had taken
 “ the Customs and Impositions upon Merchandize
 “ as his Own Right, without any Act of Parliament;
 “ which, They said, no King had ever before done;”
 insinuating withal, “that They meant to make
 “ a further Inquiry into Those, who had been
 “ the chief Ministers in that Presumption.” They
 said, “No body could imagine, but that They
 “ intended to grant the Same to his Majesty, in the
 “ same manner, for his Life, as had been done
 “ to his Progenitors by former Parliaments: But,
 “ that they found such an Act could not be presently
 “ made ready: because the Book of Rates now in
 “ practice (besides that it had not been made by
 “ Lawful Authority) contained many Excesses, and
 “ must be Reformed in several particulars, in pre-
 “ paring which, they would use all possible diligence,
 “ and hoped to effect it in a short time: however,

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“ that the continuance of the Collection in the
 “ manner it was in, without any Lawful Title,
 “ and during the very Sitting of the Parliament,
 “ would be a Precedent of a very ill Consequence,
 “ and make the Right of giving it the more Ques-
 “ tioned ; at least the less Valued. And therefore it
 “ would be fit, that either all the present Collection
 “ should be discontinued, and cease absolutely ;
 “ which was in the power of the Merchants them-
 “ selves to do, by refusing to pay any Duties
 “ which there was no Law to compel them to :
 “ or, that a short Act should be presently passed,
 “ for the continuance of those Payments for a short
 “ time ; against the expiration whereof, the Acts
 “ for granting them for Life, with the Book of
 “ Rates, would be prepared , and ready.” There
 were many Inconveniencies discovered in the First,
 in discontinuing the Collection and Payment of
 Duties, “ which would not be so easily revived
 “ again, and reduced into order : and that the Last
 “ would without prejudice to Either, both vindicate
 “ the Right of the Subject, and secure the King’s
 “ Profit :” and so they prepared (with all the
 expressions of Duty and Affection to the King that
 can be imagined) and presented a Grant of those
 Duties for some few Months. In which there was
 a preamble, “ disapproving and condemning All
 “ that had been done in That particular, from
 “ his Majesty’s first coming to the Crown, to that
 “ time ; and asserting His whole Right to those Pay-
 “ ments, to depend upon the Gift of his Subjects :”
 and concluded with “ most severe Penalties to be

“ inflicted upon Those, who should presume hereaf-
 “ ter to Collect or Receive them otherwise, than
 “ as they were, or should be; granted by Act of
 “ Parliament:” which had never been in any other
 Act of Parliament declared: which the King like-
 wise passed. So all the Revenue He had to live upon,
 and to provide him meat, and which he had reason
 to expect should have been more certainly continued
 to him, was taken into Their Hands; in order to
 take it from Him too, whenever they should think
 it convenient to their other designs: of which, he
 shortly after found the mischief.

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Though, as had been observed, there was not
 hitherto one Penny of money given to the King, or
 received by His Ministers; yet because Subsidies
 were raised upon the People, according to the
 Formality of Parliaments; and as if all that great
 Supply had been to the King's own Coffers; It was
 thought necessary, that the People should be re-
 freshed with some behooveful Law, at the same
 time that they found themselves charged with the
 payment of so many Subsidies. And under that con-
 sideration, together with the Bill for Subsidies,
 Another was sent up to the Lords, for a Triennial
 Parliament: Both which, quickly passed that House,
 and were transmitted to the King.

A Bill for a
 Triennial
 Parliament
 passed.

In that for the Triennial Parliament (though the
 same was grounded upon Two former Statutes in
 the time of King *Edward* the Third, “That there
 “ should be Once every Year a Parliament) there
 were some clauses very derogatory to Monarchical
 Principles; as “giving the People Authority to

BOOK III. “assemble together, if the King failed to call them,” and the like: Yet his Majesty, really intending to make those Conventions frequent, without any great hesitation, enacted those two Bills together; so much to the seeming Joy and Satisfaction of Both Houses, that they pretended “to have sufficiently provided for the Security of the Common-wealth;” and that there remained nothing to be done, but “such a return of Duty and Gratitude to the King, as might Testify their Devotions; and that their only End was to make Him glorious: But those Fits of Zeal and Loyalty, never lasted long.

Sir Edward
Lytleton
made Lord
Keeper.

The Lord *Finch's* flight, made not only the Place of Keeper vacant, but begot several other Vacancies. The Seal was given to *Lytleton*, who was then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; for which Place he was excellently fitted: but being a man of grave and comely Presence, his other Parts were over-valued; his Learning in the Law being his Master-piece. And he was chosen to be Keeper, upon the opinion and recommendation of the Two great Ministers under the cloud; who had before brought him to be a Privy-Counsellor, whilst Chief Justice, to the no little jealousy of the Lord *Finch*.

Barks, the Attorney General, was weary enough of the Inquisition that was made into the King's Grants, and glad to be promoted to the Common Pleas. *Herbert*, the Solicitor General, who had sat all this time in the House of Commons, awed and terrified with their Temper; applying himself to Mr. *Hambden*, and two or three of the Other, without interposing or crossing them in any thing; longed

infinitely to be out of that Fire: and so the Office of Attorney General, which at any other time had been to be wished, was now the more grateful, as it removed him from the other attendance: it not being usual in those times for the Attorney General to be a Member of the House of Commons: and he was called by Writ to attend the House of Peers, where he Sits upon the Wool Sack at the back of the Judges.

From the time that there was no more Fear of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, nor the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, nor of any particular men who were like to succeed Them in Favor; All who had been active in the Court, or in any Service for the King, being totally dispirited, and Most of them to be disposed to any ill Offices against him; The great Patriots thought they might be able to do their Country better Service, if they got the Places and Preferments of the Court for Themselves, and so prevent the Evil Counsels which had used to spring from thence. For which purpose, They had then a fast Friend there, the Marquis of *Hamilton*; Who could most dexterously put such an affair into agitation, with the least noise, and prepare both King and Queen to hearken to it very willingly: and in a short time all particulars were well adjusted for every man's accommodation.

The Earl of *Bedford* was to be Treasurer: in order to which, the Bishop of *London* had already desired the King "to receive the Staff into His hand, and "give him leave to retire to the sole care of his "Bishopric;" by which, he wisely withdrew from

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Great Offices
designed for
some Heads
of the Party.

B O O K the Storm, and enjoyed the greatest Tranquillity

III. of any man of the Three Kingdoms, throughout
 The Bishop of London re-
 signing the
 Staff, the
 Treasury is
 put into
 Commission. the whole Boisterous and Destroying Time that
 followed; and lived to see a Happy and Blessed End
 of them, and died in great Honor. And so the
 Treasury was for the present put into Commission.
 Mr. *Pym* was to be Chancellor of the Exchequer :
 which Office the Lord *Cottington* was likewise ready
 to surrender, upon assurance of Indemnity for the
 future. These Two were engaged to procure the
 King's Revenue to be liberally provided for, and
 honorably increased and settled.

Saint John
 made Soli-
 citor Gene-
 ral.

And that this might be the better done, the Earl
 of *Bedford* prevailed with the King, upon the Re-
 moves mentioned before, to make *Oliver Saint-John*
 (who hath been often, and will be oftener mentioned
 in this Discourse) his Solicitor General; which
 his Majesty readily consented to : hoping, that being
 a Gentleman of an Honorable Extraction (if he had
 been Legitimate) he would have been very useful
 in the present exigence to support His Service in
 the House of Commons, where his Authority was
 then great; at least, that he would be ashamed ever
 to appear in any thing that might prove prejudicial
 to the Crown. And he became immediately possessed
 of that Office of great trust; and was so well quali-
 fied for it, at that time, by his fast and rooted
 malignity against the Government, that he lost
 no credit with his Party, out of any apprehension
 or jealousy that he would change his Side: and
 he made good their confidence; not in the least
 degree abating his malignant Spirit, or dissembling

it; but with the same obstinacy, opposed every thing which might advance the King's Service, when he was his Solicitor, as ever he had done before. B O O K
III.

The Lord *Say* was to be Master of the Wards; which Place the Lord *Cottington* was likewise to surrender for his own quiet and security. And *Denzill Hollis* was to be Secretary of State, in the place of Secretary *Windebank*.

Thus far the Intrigue for Preferment was entirely complied with: and it is great pity that it was not fully executed, that the King might have had Some able men to have advised or assisted him; which probably These very men would have done, after they had been so thoroughly engaged: whereas the King had None left about him in any Immediate Trust in business (for I speak not of the Duke of *Richmond*, and some very Few men more about his Person, who always behaved themselves Honorably) who either did not Betray, or Sink under the Weight or Reproach of it.

But the Earl of *Bedford* was resolved, that he would not enter into the Treasury, till the Revenue was in some degree settled; at least, the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage passed, with all decent circumstances, and for Life; which both He and Mr. *Pym* did very heartily labor to effect; and had in Their thoughts, Many good Expedients, by which they intended to raise the Revenue of the Crown: And none of them were very solicitous to take their Promotions, before some other Accommodations were provided for some of the rest of their chief

B O O K Companions: who would be neither well pleased
 III. with Their so hasty advancement before them, nor
 so Submissive in the future to follow their dictates.

Hambden was a man they could not leave unprovided for; and therefore there were several Designs, and very far driven, for the Satisfaction and Promotion of Him, and *Effex*, and *Kimbolton*, and Others; though not so fully concluded, as Those before mentioned. For the King's great End was, by these Compliances, to save the Life of the Earl of *Strafford*, and to preserve the Church from Ruin: for no body thought the Arch-Bishop in danger of His life. And there were Few of the Persons mentioned before, who thought their Preferments would do them much good, if the Earl were suffered to live; but in that of the Church, the Major Part even of those Persons would have been willing to have Satisfied the King: the rather, because they had no reason to think the Two Houses, or indeed Either of them, could have been induced to have pursued the contrary. And so the continued and renewed violence in the Prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford*, made the King well contented (as the other Reasons prevailed with the other Persons) that the putting of those Promotions in practice, should be for a time suspended.

A Proposition
 made for
 borrowing
 money in
 the City.

When there was a new occasion, upon the Importunity of the *Scottish* Commissioners, to procure more Money; and the Leading Men, who used to be forward in finding out Expedients for Supply, seemed to despair of being able to borrow more; because the City was much troubled and disheart-

ened, to see the Work of Reformation proceed so slowly, and no Delinquents Yet brought to Justice; and that till some advance was made towards those longed for Ends, there must be no expectation of Borrowing more Money From, or In the City: At that time, Mr. *Hyde* said in the House, "That He did not believe the thing to be so difficult as was pretended; That no man Lent his money, who did not Gain by it; and that it was evident enough, that there was Plenty of Money; and therefore he was confident, if a small Committee of the House were nominated, who, upon consultation between themselves, might use the Name of the House to such men as were reputed to have Money, they might prevail with them to lend as Much as might serve for the present Exigence." Whereupon the House willingly approved the motion; and named Him, Mr. *Capel*, Sir *John Strange-ways*, and Five or Six more, whom They desired might be joined with them; Who, the same or the next day, repaired into the City; resolving to apply themselves to no men but Such who were of clear reputation in point of Wisdom, and Sobriety of Understanding, as well as of Wealth and Ability to lend. And after they had spoken Together with four or five eminent Men, they agreed to divide themselves, and to confer Severally with their particular Acquaintances upon the same Subject: Many men chusing rather to Lend their Money, than to be known to have it; and being very Wary in their expressions, except in private.

When they had again communicated together,

B O O K
III.

B O O K

III.

they found that the Borrowing the Money would be very Easy; Every man with whom they had conferred, being ready and forward to Lend the Money, or to find a Friend who should, upon Their Security who proposed it. Most of them in their Private Discourse said, "that there was Money enough to be Lent, if men saw there would be like to be an End of Borrowing; but that it was an universal Discomfort and Discouragement, to all men of Estates and Discretion, to see Two great Armies still kept on foot in the Kingdom, at so vast a Charge, when there remained no fear of War; and that if a time were once oppointed for the Disbanding them, there should not want Money for the doing all that should be necessary in order to it." This Answer satisfied Them in all respects: and the next day, Mr. *Hyde* reported the Success of their Employment; "that they had conferred with most of the Substantial, and Best Reputed men of the City; Who, by Themselves and their Friends, had promised to supply the Money which was desired." And then He enlarged upon "the Temper they understood the City to be in, by the reports of Those who might be reasonably supposed to know it best; That it was indeed very much troubled and disheartened, to see two Armies kept on foot at so vast a Charge within the bowels of the Kingdom, when God be thanked all the danger of a War was removed; and that They who were very able to make good what they promised, had frankly undertaken, That if a peremptory day was appointed for being rid of those

“ Armies, there should no be want of Money to B O O K
 “ discharge them.” III.

The Report was received with great Applause by the Major part of the House; as was reasonably collected by their Countenance: but it was as apparent, that the Governing Party was exceedingly perplexed with it, and knew not on a sudden What to say to it: If they Embraced the opportunity, to procure a supply of Money which was really wanted, it would be too great a Countenance to the Persons who had procured it; whose Reputation they were willing to Depress: Besides, it would imply Their Approbation of what had been said of the Disbanding: at least, would be a ground of often mentioning and pressing it; and which, how grateful soever to most other men, was the thing They most abhorred. After a long Silence, Mr. *Hambden* said, “ that the
 “ worthy Gentlemen were to be much Commended
 “ for the Pains they had taken; of which, He doubt-
 “ ed not, good Use would be made:” and so proposed, “ That it might be well thought of, and the
 “ debate resumed the next day; which could not
 “ be denied.” The next day, Alderman *Pennington* but discour-
 aged and
 defeated by
 the Party.
 (a man in highest confidence with the Party; and one, who insinuated all things to the Common-Council which he was directed should be started There) begun the discourse; and said, “ that the
 “ Gentlemen who had been last in the City to borrow
 “ Money, had made a fair Report, but that in the
 “ End of it, there was *Colloquintida*: that He could
 “ not find with what Persons They had conferred
 “ about the Temper of the City; nor that any con-
 “ siderable People troubled themselves with Design.

B O O K “ ing or Wishing what the Parliament should do ,
 III. “ which they knew to be Wise enough , to know
 “ What and When they were to do that which was
 “ Best for the Kingdom ;” and they acquiesced in
 Their grave Judgment: and concluded, “ that the
 “ Money that the House stood in need of, or a great-
 “ er Sum, was ready to be paid to whomsoever
 “ They should appoint to receive it.” The House
 made itself very Merry with the Alderman’s *Collo-*
quintida, and called upon him “ to Explain it ;” and
 so the Debate ended: all Sober men being well
 pleased to see the Disorder they were in, and the Pains
 they had taken to Free Themselves from it ; which
 every day was renewed upon them, as the subject
 matter afforded occasion ; and they visibly lost
 much of the Reverence, which had been formerly
 paid them.

A Committee
 from Ireland,
 in order to the
 Prosecution
 of the Earl of
 Strafford.

About the beginning of *March*, they begun to
 make Preparations for the Trial of the Earl of
Strafford ; who had then been about three Months in
 Prison, under the accusation of High-Treason : and
 by this time, for the better supply in this Work, a
 Committee was come from the Parliament in *Ireland*,
 to solicit Matters concerning that Kingdom. This
 Committee (most of them being Papists, and the
 Principal Actors since in the Rebellion) was received
 with great kindness; and, upon the matter, added
 to the Committee for the Prosecution of the Earl of
Strafford. So that now, *Ireland* seemed no less intent
 upon the Ruin of that unfortunate Lord, than *England*
 and *Scotland*; there being such a Correspondence
 settled, between *Westminster* and *Dublin*, that what-
 soever

soever was practised in the House of Commons Here, was soon after done likewise There: and as Sir *George Ratcliff* was accused Here of High-Treason, upon pretence of being a Confederate with the Earl in his Treasons; but in truth that he might not be capable of giving any Evidence on the Behalf of him, and thereupon sent for into this Kingdom: So All, or Most of the other Persons, who were in any Trust with the Earl, and so privy to the Grounds and Reasons of the Counsels There, and only able to make Those apparent, were accused by the House of Commons in that Kingdom of High-Treason; under the general Impeachment, of “endeavouring
“to subvert the Fundamental Laws of that Kingdom,
“and to introduce an Arbitrary Power:” which served the turn There, to Secure their Persons, and to Remove them from Councils, as it had done Here.

What Seeds were then sown for the Rebellion, which within a Year after broke out in *Ireland*, by the great Liberty and Favor that Committee found; who for the good Service against that Lord, were hearkened to in all things that concerned that Kingdom, shall be observed, and spoken of at large hereafter.

Much time was spent in consideration of the Manner of the Trial: for they could find no Precedent would fit their case: “Whether it should be
“in the House of Peers? which Room was thought
“too little, for the Accusers, Witnesses, Judges, and
“Spectators: Who should Prosecute? Whether
“Members chosen of the Commons, or the King’s
“Council? Whether the Bishops (which were
twenty-four in number, and like to be too tender.

Considerations touching
the Manner
of his Trial.

B O O K III. hearted in matter of Blood, and so either to Convert many, or increase a Dissenting Party too much)
 “ should have Voices in the Trial? Whether those
 “ who had been created Peers since the Accusation
 “ was carried up, should be admitted to be Judges?”
 And lastly, “ Whether the Commoners who were
 “ to be present at the Trial, should sit Uncovered?
 “ and, Whether any Members of the House of
 “ Commons should be Examined at the Trial on
 “ the behalf of the Earl?” who had sent a List of
 Names, and desired an Order to that purpose.

After much debate it was agreed, “ that the
 “ Trial should be in *Westminster-Hall*, where Seats
 “ should be built for the reception of the whole
 “ House of Commons, which together with the
 “ Speaker should be present:” for they Then fore-
 saw, that they might be put to another kind of
 Proceeding than That they pretended; and (though
 with much ado) they consented to sit Uncovered,
 lest such a little circumstance might disturb the
 whole design.

For the Prosecution, they had no mind to trust
 the King's Council; who neither knew their Secret
 Evidence, nor, being informed, were like to apply
 and press it so vigorously as the business would
 require: and therefore, they appointed “ that Com-
 “ mittee which had prepared the Charge, to give in
 “ the Evidence, and in the Name of all the Commons
 “ of *England*, to prosecute the Impeachment.”

For the Bishops: after many bitter Invectives;
 and remembering the Faults of particular Persons;
 and the Canons which seemed to involve the

Whole Body; with Sharpness and Threats: they took the case to be so clear upon an old Canon (the Only one they acknowledged for Orthodox) that *Clericus non debet interesse Sanguini*, that they were content "to refer That to the House of Peers, as proper only for Their determination."

And this they did, not upon any Confidence they had in the Matter itself, whatever Law, or Reason, or Canon they pretended; or in the Lords, the major part of whom, when any difference of opinion was, always dissented from Their designs: but that they had a trick of doing their business by Intimation; and had a sure Friend amongst the Bishops, who had promised them seasonably to free them of that trouble.

They would not trust their Lordships own Inclinations with the other point, of the new Barons, which they knew would be controverted; but in plain terms demanded; that no Peers, created since "the day upon which the Earl of *Strafford* was Impeached of High-Treason, because They were involved as Commoners in the making that Accusation, should sit as Judges at his Trial."

For the Earl's demand, "of an Order to Examine some Members on his behalf, upon matters of fact, at his Trial;" after a long Debate, they left it only in the Power of the Persons Themselves who were nominated, "to be Examined if they would (not without some smart Animadversions, that they should take heed What they did)" and refused to Enjoin them; though the same had been done at Their desire, for the Lords of the Council:

B O O K but that was Against the Earl, and so the Lefs to
 III. be confidered.

The Lords, in the abſence of the Lord Keeper, who was very Sick, made choice of the Earl of *Arundel* to Preſide and Govern the Court; being a Perſon notoriously diſaffected to the Earl of *Strafford*.

And for the great buſineſs of the Biſhops, they were ſaved, the labor of giving any Rule (which it may be would have troubled them) by the Biſhop of *Lincoln's* ſtanding up, and moving, on the behalf of Himſelf and his Brethren, " that
 " They might be Excused from being preſent at
 " the Trial, being Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and ſo
 " not to have Their hands in Blood;" and ſuch other Reaſons, as, when they are examined, will not be found of very great weight.

This Biſhop had been, by ſeveral Cenſures in the Star-Chamber, Imprifoned in the Tower, where he remained till after the beginning of this Parliament, and was then ſet at Liberty upon the deſire of the Lords; who knew him to be a mortal and irreconcilable Enemy to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*: and indeed, he had always been a Puritan ſo far, as to love None of the Biſhops, and to have uſed Many learned Church-men with great Contempt and Insolence: and yet he left no way unpractiſed to aſſure the King, " that he would do great
 " matters in Parliament for His Service, if he might
 " be at Liberty." The next day after He came to the Houſe of Peers, the Lord *Say* made that Speech, which he ſince Printed taking notice
 " of ſome Imputations, laid on him by the

“ Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, That he should be a
 “ Sectary;” which no body can doubt, that reads
 that Speech: Yet he had no sooner done, than that
 Bishop rose, and made a large Panegyric in his
 Praise, and professed, “ that he always believed
 “ his Lordship to be as far from a Sectary, as Himself.”
 And when he found the great desire of the House of
 Commons, to be freed from the Bishops Votes in
 that Trial; he never left Terrifying them with the
 Censure that hung over their heads for making the
 Canons, till he Persuaded them to Ingratiate them-
 selves, by desiring to be Excused in that matter,
 before an Order should be made for their Absence.

This Example of the Bishops, prevailed with
 some Lords, who had been created since the Accusa-
 tion, to quit Their Right of Judging, and amongst
 them, the Lord *Lyttleton* (who had been made a
 Baron upon the desire of the Earl of *Strafford*, for
 that only reason, that he professed, “ If He were
 “ a Peer, he would (and indeed he could) do Him
 “ notable Service)” was the First who quitted his
 right to Judge, because he had been a Commoner
 when the Accusation was first brought up: but they
 who Insisted upon their Right (as the Lord *Seymour*,
 and others) and demanded the Judgment of the
 House, were no more disturbed, but, exercised
 the same Power to the end, as any of the other
 Lords did; and so, no doubt, might the Bishops
 too, if they would: For, though there might be
 some reason for Their absence, when the Trial
 was according to Law, before, and by his Peers
 only; Yet, when that Judgment was waved, and

B O O K a Bill of Attainder brought against him, Their Votes
III. in that Bill were as necessary and Essential, as of
 any Other of the Lords. And it may be, their Un-
 seasonable, Voluntary, Unjust quitting it Then,
 made many men less solicitous for the Defence of
 Their Right afterwards. But of that in its place.

The Trial be-
 gan March the
 22d. 1640.

All things being thus prepared, and settled; On
Monday, the Twenty - second of *March*, the Earl
 of *Strafford* was brought to the Bar in *Westminster-*
Hall; the Lords sitting in the Middle of the Hall in
 their Robes; and the Commoners, and some Strangers
 of Quality, with the *Scottish* Commissioners, and
 the Committee of *Ireland*, on either Side; there
 being a close Box made at one End, at a very con-
 venient distance for Hearing, in which the King and
 Queen sat untaken notice of: His Majesty, out of
 Kindness and Curiosity, desiring to hear All that
 could be alledged: of which, I believe, he after-
 wards repented himself; when "His having been
 "Present at the Trial," was alledged and urged to
 him, as an Argument for the Passing the Bill of
 Attainder.

The Charge
 against him.

After the Earl's Charge was read, and an Intro-
 duction made by Mr. *Pym*, in which he called him
the Wicked Earl; some Member of the House of
 Commons, according to Their parts assigned,
 being a Lawyer, applied and pressed the Evidence,
 with great licence and sharpness of Language;
 and when the Earl had made his Defence, Replied
 with the same liberty upon whatsoever he said;
 taking all occasions of bitterly Inveighing against
 his Person: which Reproachful way of carriage was

looked upon with so much Approbation, that one of the Managers (Mr. *Palmer*) lost all his Credit and Interest with them, and never recovered it, for using a Decency and Modesty in his carriage and language towards him; though the Weight of His Argument pressed more upon the Earl, than all the Noise of the Rest.

B O O K
III.

The Trial lasted Eighteen days; in which. “ all the Hasty or Proud Expressions, or words He had uttered at any time since he was first made a Privy-Counsellor; all the acts of Passion or Power that he had exercised in *Yorkshire*, from the time that he was first President there; his engaging himself in Projects in *Ireland*, as the sole making of Flax, and selling Tobacco in that Kingdom; his billeting of Soldiers, and exercising of Martial Law there; his extraordinary way of Proceeding against the Lord *Mountnorris*, and the Lord Chancellor *Loftus*; his assuming a Power of Judicature at the Council-Table, to determine Private Interests, and matter of Inheritance; some rigorous and extrajudicial Determinations in cases of Plantations; some high Discourses at that Council-Table in *Ireland*; some casual and light Discourses at his Own Table, and at Public Meetings; and lastly, some words spoken in secret Council in this Kingdom, after the Dissolution of the last Parliament, were urged and pressed against him, to make good the General Charge, of an Endeavour to Overthrow the Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, and to Introduce an Arbitrary Power.”

The Earl behaved himself with great show of

His Defence.

B O O K

III.

Humility and Submission; but yet, with such a kind of Courage, as would lose no advantage; and in truth, made his Defence with all imaginable Dexterity; answering This charge, and evading That, with all possible Skill and Eloquence; and though he knew not till he came to the Bar, upon what Parts of his Charge they would proceed against him, or what Evidence they would produce, he took very little time to Recollect himself, and left nothing unsaid that might make for his own Justification.

For the business of *Ireland*; He complained much, “ that by an Order from the Committee which prepared his Charge against him, all his Papers in that Kingdom, by which he should make his Defence, were seized and taken from him; and by virtue of the same Order, all his Goods, Household-stuff, Plate, and Tobacco (amounting, as he said, to Eighty Thousand pounds) were likewise seized; so that he had not money to subsist in Prison: that all those Ministers of State in *Ireland*, who were most Privy to the Acts for which he was Questioned, and so could give the best Evidence and Testimony on his behalf, were Imprisoned under the charge of Treason. Yet he averred, That he had behaved himself in that Kingdom, according to the Power and Authority granted by his Commission and Instructions; and according to the Rules and Customs observed by former Deputies and Lieutenants. That the Monopolies of Flax and Tobacco, had been undertaken by Him for the Good of that Kingdom, and Benefit of his Majesty: the Former establish-

“ ing a most beneficial Trade and good Husbandry,
 “ not before practised There; and the Latter bringing
 “ a Revenue of above Forty Thousand pounds to
 “ the Crown, and advancing Trade, and bringing
 “ no damage to the Subiect.” That Billetting of
 Soldiers (which was alledged to be Treason, by a
 Statute made in *Ireland* in the time of King *Henry*
 the Sixth) “ and the exercising of Martial Law,
 “ had been always practised by the Lieutenants and
 “ Deputies of that Kingdom;” which he proved,
 by the Testimony and Confession of the Earl of
Cork, and the Lord *Wilmot*; neither of which, desired
 to say more for his behoof, than inevitably they
 must. He said, “ the Act of Parliament mentioned,
 “ of *Henry* the Sixth, concerned not Him; it com-
 “ prehending only the Inferior Subjects, and making
 “ it Penal to Them to billet Soldiers, not the
 “ Deputy, or Supreme Commander; if it did, that
 “ it was Repealed by *Poyning’s* Act, in the Eleventh
 “ year of *Henry* the Seventh: However, if it were
 “ not, and that it were Treason still, it was Treason
 “ only in *Ireland*; and not in *England*; and there-
 “ fore, that he could not be Tried Here for it,
 “ but must be trasmitted Thither.” He said, “ the
 “ Council - Table in *Ireland*, had a large Legal
 “ Jurisdiction, by the Institution and Fundamental
 “ Customs of that Kingdom; and had, in all times,
 “ Determined matters of the Same nature, which
 “ it had done in His time: and that Proceedings
 “ There upon Plantations, had been with the Advice
 “ of the Judges, upon a clear Title of the Crown,

- B O O K “ and upon great Reason of State: and that the
 III. “ Nature and disposition of that People, required a
 “ Severe Hand and Strict Reins to be held upon
 “ them, which being loosed, the Crown would
 “ quickly feel the Mischief.”

For the several Discourses, and Words, where-
 with he was charged; he Denied many, and Ex-
 plained and put a Gloss upon others, by the reasons
 and circumstances of the Debate. One particular,
 on which They much insisted, though it was spoken
 twelve years before, “ that He should say in the
 “ Public Hall in *York*, that the Little Finger of the
 “ Prerogative should lie heavier upon them than the
 “ Loins of the Law,” he directly Inverted; and
 proved, by two or three Persons of Credit, “ that he
 “ said ” (and the occasion made it probable, being
 upon the business of Knighthood, which was
 understood to be a Legal Tax) “ the Little Finger
 “ of the Law was heavier than the Loins of the
 “ Prerogative;” that Imposition for Knighthood,
 amounting to a much higher rate, than any Act
 of the Prerogative which had been exercised, “ How-
 “ ever,” he said, “ he hoped no Indiscretion, or
 “ Unskilfulness, or Passion, or Pride of Words,
 “ would amount to Treason; and for Misdemean-
 “ ours, he was ready to Submit to their Justice.”

He made the least, that is, the worst Excuse, for
 those Two Acts against the Lord *Mountnorris*, and
 the Lord Chancellor; which indeed were Powerful
 Acts, and manifested a nature excessively Imperious;
 and no doubt, caused a greater Dislike and Terror,
 in Sober and Dispassionate Persons, than, All that

was alledged against him. A Servant of the Earl's, one *Annesley* (Kinsman to *Mountnorris*) attending on his Lord during some Fit of the Gout (of which he often labored) had by accident, or negligence, suffered a Stool to fall upon the Earl's Foot; enraged with the Pain whereof, his Lordship with a small Cane struck *Annesley*: this being merrily spoken of at Dinner, at a Table where the Lord *Mountnorris* was (I think, the Lord Chancellor's) He said "the Gentleman had a Brother that would not have taken such a Blow." This coming some months after to the Deputy's hearing, he caused a Council of War to be called; the Lord *Mountnorris* being an Officer of the Army; where, upon an Article "of moving Sedition, and stirring up the Soldiers against the General," He was charged with those Words formerly spoken at the Lord Chancellor's Table. What Defence he made, I know not; for he was so surpris'd, that he knew not what the matter was, when he was Summoned to that Council: but the Words being proved he was deprived of his Office (being then Vice-Treasurer) and his Foot - Company; committed to Prison; sentenced, "to lose his Head." The Office, and Company, were immediately disposed of; and he imprisoned, till the King sent him over a Pardon, by which he was discharged with his Life; all the other parts of the Sentence being fully executed.

This seem'd to all men a most Prodigious course of Proceeding; that in a time of full Peace, a Peer of the Kingdom and a Privy-Counsellor, for an

B O O K Unadvised, Passionate, Myſterious Word (for the
 III. Expreſſion was capable of many Interpretations) ſhould be called before a Council of War, which could not reaſonably be underſtood to have Then a Jurisdiction over Such Perſons, and in Such Caſes; and without any Proceſs, or Formality of Defence, in two hours ſhould be Deprived of his Life and Fortune: the Injuſtice whereof, ſeemed the more formidable, for that the Lord *Mountnorris* was known, for ſome time before, to ſtand in great Jealouſy and Diſfavor with the Earl: which made it looked on as a pure Act of Revenge; and gave all men warning, how they truſted themſelves in the Territories where He commanded.

The Earl, diſcharged Himſelf of the rigor and ſeverity of the Sentence, and laid it upon “ the
 “ Council of War; where he Himſelf not only
 “ forbore to be Preſent, but would not ſuffer his
 “ Brother, who was an Officer of the Army, to
 “ Stay there”: he ſaid, “ he had conjured the Court,
 “ to proceed without any reſpect of favor or kindneſs
 “ to Himſelf; and that, as ſoon as He underſtood the
 “ Judgment of the Council, which was Unani-
 “ mous, he declared publicly (as he had likewise
 “ done before) That a hair of his head ſhould not
 “ periſh; and immediately wrote an earneſt Letter
 “ to his Majeſty, for the procuring his Pardon;
 “ which was by his Majeſty, upon his Lordſhip’s
 “ recommendation and mediation, granted accor-
 “ dingly; and thereupon, the Lord *Mountnorris*
 “ was ſet at liberty: though, it is true, He was, after
 “ his enlargement, not ſuffered to come to *England*.

He concluded, “ that the Lord *Mountnorris* was an Insolent person; and that he took This course to humble him : and that he would be very well content, that the Same course might be taken to reform Him; if the Same Care might likewise be, that it might prove no more to His prejudice, than the other had been to that Lord.”

But the Standers by, made another Excuse for him :

“ The Lord *Mountnorris* was a man of great Industry, Activity, and Experience, in the affairs of *Ireland*;

“ having raised himself from a very private, mean condition (having been an inferior Servant to the Lord *Chichester*) “ to the degre of a Viscount, and

“ a Privy-Counsellor, and to a very ample Revenue

“ in Lands and Offices ; and had always, by Servile

“ Flattery and Sordid Application, wrought himself

“ into Trust and Nearness with all Deputies, at their

“ first entrance upon their Charge, informing them

“ of the Defects and Oversights of their Prede-

“ cessors; and, after the determination of their

“ Commands, and return into *England*, informing

“ the State here, and those Enemies they usually

“ contracted in that time, of whatsoever they had

“ done, or suffered to be done, amiss; whereby,

“ they either suffered Disgrace, or Damage, as soon

“ as they were recalled from those Honors. In this

“ manner, He begun with his own Master, the

“ Lord *Chichester* ; and continued the same arts,

“ upon the Lord *Grandison*, and the Lord *Falkland*,

“ who succeeded ; and upon that score, procured

“ Admission and Trust with the Earl of *Strafford*,

“ upon His first admission to that Government; So

B O O K

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BOOK III. “ that this *Dilemma* seemed unquestionable, That
 “ either the Deputy of *Ireland* must destroy my
 “ Lord *Mountnorris*, whilst he continued in his
 “ Office, or my Lord *Mountnorris* must destroy the
 “ Deputy, as soon as his Commission was determined.
 “ And upon this Consideration; besides, that his no
 “ virtue made him unpitied; many looked with
 “ less concernedness upon that Act, than the matter
 “ it-Self deserved.

The Case of the Lord Chancellor, seemed, to
 Common Understandings, an act of less Violence,
 because it concerned not Life; and had some show
 of Formality at least, it not Regularity in the Pro-
 ceeding; and that which was Amis in it, took its
 growth from a Nobler Root than the other. The
 endeavour was, to compel the Lord Chancellor to
 settle more of his Land, and in another manner,
 upon his eldest Son, than he had a mind to, and
 than he could Legally be compelled to: This the
 Earl, upon a Paper-Petition preferred to him by
 the Wife of that Son (a Lady, for whom the Earl
 had so great a value and esteem, that it made his
 Justice the more suspected) pressed, and in the end
 ordered him to do. The Chancellor refused; was
 committed to Prison; and shortly after, the Great
 Seal taken from him, which he had kept with great
 reputation of Ability for the space of above Twenty
 years. In the pressing this Charge, many things of
 Levity, as certain Letters of great Affection and
 Familiarity from the Earl to that Lady, which were
 found in her Cabinet after her death; others of Pas-
 sion, were exposed to the public view: to procure

Prejudice rather to his Gravity and Discretion, than that they were in any degree Material to the business.

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The Earl said little more to it, than “that he hoped, what passion soever, or what Injustice soever, might be found in that proceeding, and Sentence, there would be no Treason: and that, for his part, he had yet reason to believe, what he had done was very Just; since it had been reviewed by his Majesty, and his Privy-Council here, upon an Appeal from the Lord Viscount *Ely* (the degraded Lord Chancellor) and upon a solemn hearing There, which took up many days, it had received a Confirmation.”

But the truth is, That rather accused the Earl of an Excess of Power than absolved him of Injustice; for most men that weighed the whole matter, believed it to be a high act of Oppression, and not to be without a mixture of that Policy, which was spoken of before in the Case of the Lord *Mountnorris*: For the Chancellor, being a person of great Experience, Subtilty, and Prudence, had been always very Severe to departed Deputies; and not over agreeable, nor in any degree Submiss, to their full Power; and taking Himself to be the Second person in the Kingdom, during the holding of his Place, thought himself little less than Equal to the First, who could naturally hope but for a term of Years in that Superiority: neither had he ever before met with the least Check, that might make him suspect a Diminution of his Authority, or Interest.

That which was with most Solemnity and expect-

B O O K tation alledged against the Earl, as the Hinge upon
 III. which the Treason was principally to hang, was a Discourse of the Earl's in the Committee of State (which They called *the Cabinet-Council*) upon the Dissolution of the former Parliament. Sir *Harry Vane* the Secretary of State, gave in Evidence, " That the
 " King at that time calling that Committee to him,
 " asked them Since he failed of the assistance and
 " supply expected by Subsidies, what Course he
 " should now take ? " that the Earl of *Strafford* answered, " Sir, You have now done Your Duty, and
 " your Subjects have failed in Theirs; and therefore
 " you are absolved from the Rules of Government,
 " and may supply yourself by Extraordinary Ways;
 " You must prosecute the War vigorously; You
 " have an Army in *Ireland*, with which you may
 " reduce this Kingdom "

The Earl of *Northumberland* being Examined, for the confirmation of this Proof, remembered only,
 " that the Earl had said, You have done your Duty,
 " and are now absolved from the Rules of Govern-
 " ment;" but not a word of the Army in *Ireland*, or reducing this Kingdom. The Lord Marquis *Hamilton*, the Lord Bishop of *London*, and the Lord *Cottington*, being likewise Examined, answered upon their Oaths, " that they heard none of those words " spoken by the Earl. " And These were the only Persons present at that Debate, save only the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and Secretary *Windebank*, neither of which could be Examined, or would be Believed.

The Earl positively denied the Words; alledged
 much

much Animosity "to be in Sir *Henry Vane* towards
 " him; and observed, that not one of the other
 " Witnesses, who were likewise present, and as like
 " to Remember what was spoken, as the Secretary,
 " heard one word of the *Irish* Army, or reducing
 " this Kingdom: that if he had spoken those words,
 " it could not be understood to be spoken of *England*,
 " but of *Scotland*, of which the Discourse was, and
 " for which that Army was known to be raised." He
 concluded, " that if the words were spoken by him,
 " which he expressly denied, they were not Treason;
 " and if they were Treason, that by a Statute made
 " in *Edward* the Sixth's time, one Witness was not
 " sufficient to prove it, and that here was but one."

Seventeen days being spent in the whole progress
 of this Trial; the Earl having defended himself with
 wonderful dexterity and ability, concluded, " that
 " if the whole Charge (in which he hoped he had
 " given their Lordships satisfaction of his Loyalty
 " and Integrity, how great soever his Infirmities
 " were) was proved, that the Whole made him not
 " guilty of High-Treason; and to that purpose de-
 " fired, that his Learned Council might be heard;"
 and most pathetically conjured their Lordships,
 " that for Their Own sakes, they would not, out of
 " Displeasure or Disfavor towards His Person,
 " create a Precedent to the Prejudice of the Peerage
 " of *England*, and Wound Themselves through His
 " Sides: " which was good Counsel, and hath been
 since (though too late) acknowledged to be so.

The next day, his Council was heard in the same
 place to the matter of Law. And here I cannot pass

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The Earl's
conclusion of
his Defence.

His Council
heard as to

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matters of
Law.

by an Instance of as great Animosity, and Indirect Prosecution, in that circumstance of assigning him Council, as can be given. After the House of Peers had assigned him such Council as he desired, to assist him in matter of Law (which never was, or can justly be denied to the most scandalous Felon, the most inhuman Murderer, or the most infamous Traitor) the House of Commons, upon some occasion, took notice of it with Passion and Dislike, somewhat unskilfully, "that such a thing should be done without Their consent;" which was no more, than that the Judge should be directed by the Prosecutor, in what manner to proceed and determine : Others, with much Bitterness, inveighing against "the Presumption of those Lawyers, that durst be of Counsel with a Person accused by Them of High-Treason;" and moving, "that They might be sent for, and Proceeded against for that Contempt:" Whereas, They were not only Obligated to it by the honor and duty of their Profession; but had been Punishable for refusing to submit to the Lords Orders. The matter was too Gross to receive any Public Order, and so the Debate ended; but served (and no doubt that was the Intention) to let those Gentlemen know, how Warily they were to demean themselves, lest the Anger of that terrible Congregation should be kindled against them.

Mr. Lane's
Argument
for him.

But truly I have not heard that it made any Impression upon those Persons; it did not, I am sure, upon Mr. *Lane*, who argued the matter of Law for the Earl. The Matters which were by Him principally Insisted on, and Averred with

such Confidence as a man uses who believes himself, were These: BOOK
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1. "That by the Wisdom and Tenderneſs of Parliaments, which knew that there could not be a greater Snare for the Subject, than to leave the nature of Treason undefined and unlimited, All Treasons were particularly mentioned and ſet down in the Statute of the 25 *Edw. III. de Proditionibus*. That nothing is Treason, but what is comprehended within that Statute; all Treasons before that Statute as killing the King's Uncle, his Nurse, Piracy, and divers others, being restrained and taken away by the Declaration of that Act. And that no Words or Actions, in any of the Articles of the Earl of *Strafford's* Charge, did amount to Treason within that Statute."

2. "That by reason of the Clause in that Statute, of declaring Treason in Parliament, divers actions were declared to be Treasons in Parliament, in the time of King *Richard* the Second, to the great Prejudice of the Subject: It was therefore ſpecially Provided, and Enacted, by a Statute in the First year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Fourth, Chapter the Tenth, which is still in force, That nothing should be declared and adjudged Treason, but what was ordained in that Statute of the 25 *Edw. III.* by which Statute, all Power of declaring New Treasons in Parliament, was taken away; and that no Precedent of any Such Declaration in Parliament can be ſhewed ſince that time: All New Treasons, made by any Act of Parliament in the Reign of King

BOOK
III.

“ *Henry the Eighth*, being by the Statute of the
 “ First year of *Queen Mary*, Chapter the First,
 “ taken away, and restrained to the 25 *Edw. III.*
 “ and that likewise by another Statute of the First
 “ year of *Queen Mary*, Chapter the Tenth, All
 “ Trials of Treasons ought to be according to the
 “ Rules of the Common Law, and not otherwise.”

3. “ That the Foundation upon which the Im-
 “ peachment was framed, was Erroneous; for that
 “ (besides that it was confessed on all hands the
 “ Laws of the Kingdom were Not Subverted) an
 “ Endeavour to Subvert the Fundamental Laws and
 “ Statutes of this Realm, by Force attempted, is
 “ not Treason, being only made Felony by the
 “ Statute of the First year of *Queen Mary*, Chapter
 “ the Twelfth; which is likewise expired. That
 “ *Cardinal Wolsey*, in the Thirty-third year of
 “ *King Henry the Eighth*, was indicted only of
 “ a Premunire, for an Endeavour to bring in the
 “ Imperial Laws into this Kingdom. And that an
 “ Endeavour, or Intention, to levy War, was
 “ made Treason, only by a Statute of the 13th
 “ *Elizabeth* (a time very Inquisitive for Treason)
 “ which expired with her life.

4. “ Lastly, That if any thing was alledged
 “ against the Earl which might be Penal to him,
 “ it was not Sufficiently and Legally proved; for
 “ that by the Statute of the First year of *King*
 “ *Edward the Sixth*, Chapter the Twelfth, No
 “ man ought to be Arraigned, Indicted, or Con-
 “ demned, of any Treason, unless it be upon the Tes-
 “ timony of Two Lawful and Sufficient Witnesses,

“ produced in the Presence of the Party accused; B O O H
 “ unless the Party Confess the same; and if it be III.
 “ for Words, within Three Months after the same
 “ spoken, if the Party be within the Kingdom:
 “ Whereas there was in this Case only One Wit-
 “ nefs, Sir *Henry Vane*, and the words spoken
 “ Six Months before.”

The Case being thus stated on the Earl's behalf, the Judgment of the Lords, in Whom the Sole Power of Judicature was conceived to be, was by all men expected; the House of Commons having declared, “ that They intended not to make any
 “ Reply to the Argument of Law made by Mr.
 “ *Lane*, it being below their Dignity to contend
 “ with a Private Lawyer.” Indeed They had a more convincing way to proceed by; for the next day after that Argument, Sir *Arthur Haslerig* (Brother-in-Law to the Lord *Brook*) an absurd, bold man, brought up by Mr. *Pym*, and so employed by that Party to make any attempt, preferred a Bill in the House of Commons, “ for the Attainder of the Earl
 “ of *Strafford* of High-Treason:” it being observed, that by what the Earl had said for himself in the matter of fact and in matter of prudence, of the Consequence of such an extraordinary Proceeding; and by what had been said for him in the point of Law; most Sober men, who had been, and still were, full enough of Dislike and Passion against the Earl, were not at all satisfied in the Justice of the Impeachment, or in the Manner of the Prosecution: and therefore, that the House of Peers, which consisted of near one Hundred and Twenty, besides

A Bill of
 Attainder
 brought into
 the House
 against the
 Earl.

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the Bishops, and of whom Fourscore had been constantly attending the Trial, were not like to take upon Them the Burden of such a Judgment as was expected.

The Bill was received with wonderful alacrity, and immediately read the first and the second time, and so Committed: which was not usual in Parliaments, except in matters of great concernment and conveniency in the particular; or of little importance or moment in the general. Those who at First consented, upon slight information, to his Impeachment, upon no other reason, but (as hath been said before) because They were only to Accuse, and the Lords to Judge, and so thought to be troubled no more with it, being Now as ready to Judge, as they had been to Accuse, finding some new reasons to satisfy themselves, of which one was, "They had gone too far to Sit still, or Retire."

A day or two before the Bill of Attainder was brought into the House of Commons, there was a very remarkable Passage, of which the Pretence was, "to make One Witness, with divers Circumstances, as good as Two;" though I believe it was directed in truth to an End very foreign to that which was proposed. The words of the Earl of *Strafford*, by which, "his endeavour to alter the frame of Government, and his intention to levy War, should principally appear," were proved Singly by Sir *Henry Vane*; which had been often averred, and promised, should be proved by Several Witnesses; and the Law was clear, "that less than Two Witnesses ought not be received in case of Treason."

To make this Single Testimony appear as Suf-
 ficient as if it had been confirmed by more, Mr. Pym
 informed the House of Commons, "of the Grounds
 " upon which he first advised that Charge, and was
 " satisfied that he should sufficiently prove it. That
 " some Months before the beginning of this Par-
 " liament, He had visited young Sir *Henry Vane*,
 " eldest Son to the Secretary, who was then newly
 " recovered from an Ague; that They being to-
 " gether, and Condoling the sad condition of the
 " Kingdom, by reason of the many illegal Taxes and
 " Pressures: Sir *Henry* told him, If he would call
 " upon Him the next day, He would show him
 " somewhat that would give him much trouble, and
 " inform him, What Counsels were like to be
 " followed to the Ruin of the Kingdom; for that
 " He had, in perusal of some of his Father's Papers,
 " accidentally met with the Result of the Cabinet-
 " Council upon the Dissolution of the last Parliament,
 " which comprehended the Resolutions then taken."

" The next day He showed him a little Paper of
 " the Secretary's own writing; in which was con-
 " tained the day of the Month, and the Results of
 " several Discourses made by several Counsellors;
 " with several Hieroglyphics, which sufficiently
 " expressed the Persons by whom those Discourses
 " were made. The matter was of so Transcendent a
 " Nature, and the Counsel so Prodigious, with
 " reference to the Common-wealth, that he desired
 " he might take a Copy of it; which the young
 " Gentleman would by no means Consent to,
 " fearing it, might prove Prejudicial to his Father.

B O O K “ But when Mr. *Pym* informed him, That it was
 III. “ of extreme Consequence to the Kingdom, and
 “ that a time might probably come, when the
 “ Discovery of This, might be a Sovereign means
 “ to Preserve both Church and State, he was
 “ contented that Mr. *Pym* should take a Copy of
 “ it; which he did, in the presence of Sir *Henry Vane*;
 “ and having examined it, together with him, de-
 “ livered the Original again to Sir *Henry*. That, he
 “ had carefully kept this Copy by him, without
 “ communicating the same to any body, till the
 “ beginning of this Parliament, which was the time
 “ he conceived fit to make use of it; and that then,
 “ meeting with many other Instances of the Earl’s ill
 “ Disposition to the Kingdom, it satisfied him to
 “ move whatsoever he had moved, against that
 “ great Person.”

Having said thus much, he read the Paper in his hand; in which the day of the Month was set down, and his Majesty to be present, and stating the Question to be, “ What was now to be done? “ since the Parliament had Refused to give Subsidies “ for the supply of the War against *Scotland*.” There were then written, two *LLs* and a *t* over, and an *I* and an *r*, which was urged, “ could signify nothing “ but *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*; and the Words “ written and applied to that Name,” were, “ Absolved from Rules of Government;—Pro- “ secute the War vigorously—An Army in *Ireland* “ to subdue this Kingdom—;” which was urged, “ to comprehend the matter of the Earl’s Speech and “ Advice;” that Paper, by Fractions of Words

(without mentioning any Formed Speech) containing only the Results of the several Counsellors Advice. Before those Letters which were ordered to signify the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, were an *A. B. C. G.* which might be understood to signify, *the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury his Grace*; and at those Letters, some short, sharp expressions against Parliaments, and thereupon, fierce advice to the King. Next in the Paper, was an *M* with an *r* over, and an *Ho*, which were to be understood for Marquis *Hamilton*, who was *Master of the Horse*; and the words annexed thereunto seemed to be rough, but without a Supplement signified nothing. Then there was an *L*, an *H*, and an *A*, which must be interpreted *Lord High Admiral*, which was the *Earl of Northumberland*; and from that Hieroglyphic proceeded only a few words, which implied advice to the King, “to be “Advised by his Parliament.” Then there was *Ld. Cottington* (which would easily be believed to signify *the Lord Cottington*) with some expressions as sharp, as those applied to the Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

When he had read this Paper, he added; “That “though there was but One Witness directly in the “point, Sir *Henry Vane* the Secretary, whose Hand-writing that Paper was, whereof this was a “Copy; Yet he conceived those Circumstances of “His, and young Sir *Henry Vane’s* having Seen “those Original Results, and being ready to Swear, “that the Paper read by Him was a true Copy of “the other, might reasonably amount to the “validity of Another Witness: and that it was “no wonder, that the Other persons mentioned

B O O K “ in that Writing, who had given as bad Counsel,
 III. “ would not remember, for their Own sakes, what
 “ had passed in that Conference; and that the Earl
 “ of *Northumberland* (who was the only good
 “ Counsellor in the pack) had remembered Some
 “ of the words, of a high nature, though he had
 “ forgotten the Other.

When Mr. *Pym* had ended, young Sir *Henry Vane* rose, in some seeming Disorder; confessed all that the Other had said; and added, “ That his Father
 “ being in the North with the King the Summer
 “ before, had sent up his Keys to his Secretary,
 “ then at *White-Hall*; and had Written to Him (his
 “ Son) that He should take from him those Keys,
 “ which opened his Boxes where his Writings
 “ and Evidences of his Land were, to the end that
 “ he might cause an Assurance to be perfected which
 “ concerned his Wife; and that He having perused
 “ those Evidences, and despatched what depended
 “ thereupon, had the curiosity to see what was in
 “ a Red Velvet Cabinet which stood with the other
 “ Boxes; and thereupon required the Key of that
 “ Cabinet from the Secretary, as if he still wanted
 “ somewhat towards the business his Father had
 “ directed; and so having gotten that Key, he
 “ found, among other Papers, That mentioned by
 “ Mr. *Pym*; which made that Impression in him,
 “ that he thought himself bound in Conscience to
 “ communicate it to some Person of better Judge-
 “ ment than himself, who might be more able to
 “ Prevent the Mischiefs that were threatened therein;
 “ and so showed it to Mr. *Pym*; and being con-

“ firmed by Him, that the feafonable Discovery B O O K
 “ thereof might do no lefs than Preferve the King- III.
 “ dom, had confented that He fhould take a Copy
 “ thereof; which to His knowledge he had faithfully
 “ done: and thereupon, had laid the Original in
 “ its proper place again, in the Red Velvet Cabinet.
 “ He faid, He knew this Discovery would prove
 “ little lefs than his Ruin in the good opinion of
 “ his Father; but having been induced, by the
 “ tendernefs of his Confcience towards his Common
 “ Parent his Country, to Trefpafs againft his natural
 “ Father, He hoped he fhould find Compaffion from
 “ that Houfe, though he had little hopes of Pardon
 “ elfewhere.”

The Son no fooner fate down, than the Father
 (who, without any counterfeiting, had a natural
 appearance of Sternnefs) rofe, with a pretty Con-
 fuſion; and faid, “ That the Ground of his Mis-
 “ fortune was Now difcovered to Him; that he had
 “ been much amazed, when he found himſelf preſſed
 “ by Such Interrogatories, as made him Suſpect
 “ ſome Discovery to be made, by ſome Perſon as
 “ converſant in the Counſels as Himſelf: But he
 “ was now ſatiſfied to Whom he owed his Misfor-
 “ tunes; in which, He was ſure, the Guilty Perſon,
 “ ſhould bear his ſhare. That it was true, being
 “ in the North with the King; and that Unfortunate
 “ Son of his, having Married a Virtuous Gentle-
 “ woman (Daughter to a worthy Member then
 “ preſent) to Whom there was ſomewhat in Juſtice
 “ and Honor due, which was not ſufficiently ſettled;
 “ He had ſent his Keys to his Secretary; not well

B O O K “ knowing in what Box the material Writings lay ;
 III. “ and directed him , to suffer his Son to look after
 “ those Evidences which were necessary : that by
 “ this occasion, it seemed, those Papers had been
 “ examined and perused, which had begot much
 “ of this trouble. That for His part, after the Sum-
 “ mons of this Parliament, and the King’s return to
 “ *London*, he had acquainted his Majesty, that he
 “ had many Papers remaining in his hands, of such
 “ transactions as were not like to be of further
 “ use ; and therefore, if his Majesty pleased he would
 “ Burn them, lest by any accident they might come
 “ into hands that might make an ill use of them :
 “ to which his Majesty consenting, he had burned
 “ many ; and amongst them, the Original Results
 “ of those Debates, of which, that which was read
 “ was pretended to be a Copy : that to the Parti-
 “ culars, He could say nothing more, than what he
 “ had upon his Examination expressed, which was
 “ exactly true, and he would not deny ; though
 “ by what he had heard that afternoon (with which
 “ he was surpris’d and amazed) he found himself
 “ in an ill condition upon that Testimony. ”

This Scene was so well acted, with such Passion and Gestures, between the Father and the Son, that many Speeches were made in commendation of the Conscience, Integrity, and Merit, of the Young man, and a motion made, “ that the Father might
 “ be enjoined by the House to be Friends with
 “ his Son : ” but for some time there was, in Public, a great Distance observed between them.

Many men wondered very much at the unne-

cessary relation of this Story ; which would visibly appear very Ridiculous to the world, and could not but inevitably produce much Scandal and Inconvenience to the Father , and the Son ; who were too wise to believe, that those Circumstances would add any thing to the Credit of the former single Testimony : neither was there ever after any mention of it in Public, to move the Judgment of Those, who were concerned to be Satisfied in what they were to do : and therefore Some who observed the Stratagems used by that Party to compass their own private ends, believed , that This occasion was taken to publish those Results, Only to give the Lord *Cottingham* notice in what Danger he was, that so he might wisely quit his Mastership of the Wards to the Lord *Say* ; who expected it, and might be able, by that obligation, to Protect him from farther Prosecution : and so that they meant to Sacrifice the reputation of the Secretary to the ambition of the Lord *Say*. But without doubt (though this last consideration was very powerful with them) the true reason of the communication of this Passage , was, that they found it would be impossible to Conceal their having received the Principal Information from the Secretary, for their Whole Prosecution ; by reason some of the Committee, who were intrusted to prepare the Charge against the Earl of *Strafford*, and consequently were privy to that Secret, were fallen from them ; at least from their Ends ; and therefore they thought fit to Publish this History of the Intelligence , that it might be rather imputed to the Conscience, and Curiosity of the Son, than to the Malice of the Father.

BOOK

III.

The Bill
passed the
House of
Commons in
few days.

The Bill of Attainder in few days passed the House of Commons; though some Lawyers, of great and known Learning, declared, "that there was no ground or color in Law, to Judge him Guilty of High-Treason:" and the Lord *Digby* (who had been, from the beginning, of that Committee for the Prosecution, and had much more Prejudice, than Kindness to the Earl) in a very pathetical Speech declared, "that He could Not give his Consent to the Bill; not only, for that he was unsatisfied in the matter of Law, but, for that he was more unsatisfied in the matter of Fact; those Words, upon which the Impeachment was principally grounded, being so far from being Proved by Two Witnesses, that He could not acknowledge it to be by One; since he could not admit Sir *Henry Vane* to be a competent Witness, who being First examined, denied that the Earl spoke those Words; and at his Second examination, remembered Some; and at his Third, the Rest of the words:" and thereupon, related many Circumstances, and made many sharp Observations upon what had passed; which none but one of the Committee could have done: for which he was presently after Questioned in the House, but made his Defence so well, and so much to the Disadvantage of Those who were concerned, that from that time, they Prosecuted him with an implacable Rage, and Uncharitableness upon all occasions. The Bill Passed with only Fifty-nine Dissenting voices, there being near Two Hundred in the House; and was immediately sent up to the Lords, with this addition,

“ that the Commons would be ready the next day
 “ in *Westminster-Hall*, to give their Lordships Satis-
 “ faction in the matter of Law, upon what had
 “ passed at the Trial.”

B O O K
 III.

The Earl was then again brought to the Bar; the Lords sitting as before, in their Robes; and the Commons as they had done; amongst Them, Mr. Solicitor *Saint-John*, from his place, argued for the space of near an hour the matter of Law. Of the Argument itself I shall say little, it being in Print, and in many hands; I shall only remember Two notable Propositions, which are sufficient Characters of the Person and the Time. Left what had been said on the Earl's behalf, in point of Law, and upon the Want of Proof, should have made any Impression in their Lordships; He averred, “ That, in that way of Bill, Private Satisfaction to each man's Conscience was sufficient, although “ No Evidence had been given in at all: ” and as to the pressing the Law, he said, “ It was true, we “ give Law to Hares, and Deer, because they are “ Beasts of Chase; but it was never accounted either “ Cruelty, or Foul Play, to knock Foxes and “ Wolves on the head as they can be found, be- “ cause they are Beasts of Prey.” In a word, the Law and the Humanity were alike; the One being more Fallacious, and the Other more Barbarous, than in any Age had been vented in such an Auditory.

Mr. Saint-
 John de-
 fends it in
 point of Law
 before the
 Lords.

The same day, as a Better Argument to the Lords speedily to Pass the Bill, the nine-and-fifty Mem- bers of the House of Commons, who (as is said before) had Dissented from that Act, had their

The names of
 the Common-
 ers Dissent-
 ing from the
 Bill, exposed
 under the

B O O K Names written in pieces of Parchment or Paper, under this Superscription, *STRAFFORDIANS, or Enemies to their Country*; and those Papers fixed upon Posts, and other the most visible places about the City, which was as great and destructive a Violation of the Privileges and Freedom of Parliament, as can be imagined: yet, being Complained of in the House, not the least Countenance was given to the Complaint; or the least Care taken for the Discovery.

III.
Title of
Straffor-
dians.

The Persons who had still the Conduct of the Designs, began to find, that their Friends abroad (of whose help they had still great need, for the getting Petitions to be brought to the House; and for all Tumultuous appearances in the City; and Negotiations with the Common-Council) were not at all satisfied with them, for their want of Zeal in the matter of Religion: and, though they had Branded as many of the Bishops, and Others of the Prelatical party, as had come in their way; and received all Petitions against the Church with encouragement: Yet, that there was Nothing done, or visibly in Projection to be done, towards Lessening their Jurisdiction; or Indulging any of that Liberty to their Weak Brethren, which They had from the beginning expected from them. Besides, the discourse of their Ambition, and hopes of Preferment at Court, was grown public, and raised much Jealousy of them.

But the Truth is, They who had made in their hearts the most Destructive Vows against the Church, never durst Communicate their Bloody Wishes

Wishes to their best Friends, whose Authority gave
 Them their greatest Credit. For besides that their
 Own Clergy, whose hands they produced in great
 numbers, to complain against the Innovations,
 which had (as They said) been introduced; and
 against the Ceremonies, which had been in constant
 practice Since the Reformation, as well as Before;
 were far from being of one Mind in the Matter
 or Manner of what they wished should be altered;
 as appeared, whenever they came before the House,
 or a Committee, when any of them were asked
 Questions they did not expect: There was Less
 Consent amongst their Lay Friends, in Ecclesiastical
 affairs, than amongst the other.

The Earl of *Bedford* had no desire that there
 should be any Alteration in the Government of the
 Church; and had always lived, towards my Lord
 of *Canterbury* himself, with all Respect and Reve-
 rence, and frequently visited and dined with him;
 Subscribed liberally to the Repair of *St. Paul's* Church,
 and Seconded all Pious undertakings: though, it is
 true, he did not discountenance notoriously those
 of the Clergy who were Unconformable.

The Earl of *Essex*, was rather Displeased with
 the Person of the Arch-Bishop, and some other
 Bishops, than Indevoted to the Function; and
 towards some of them, he had great Reverence
 and Kindness, as Bishop *Moreton*, Bishop *Hall*, and
 some other of the less Formal, and more Popular
 Prelates: and He was as much Devoted as any
 man to the Book of Common-Prayer, and obliged
 all his Servants to be constantly present with him at

B O O K it; his Household Chaplain, being always a most
III. Conformable man, and a good Scholar.

In truth, in the House of Peers, there were only at that time taken notice of, the Lords *Say* and *Brooke*, as Positive Enemies to the Whole Fabric of the Church, and to desire a Dissolution of that Government; the Earl of *Warwick* himself, having never discovered any Aversion to Episcopacy, and much professed the Contrary.

In the House of Commons, though of the chief Leaders, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, and young Sir *Henry Vane*, and shortly after Mr. *Hambden* (who had not before owned it) were believed to be for Root and Branch; which grew shortly after a common Expression, and Discovery of the several Tempers: Yet, Mr. *Pym* was not of that mind, nor Mr. *Hollis*, nor any of the Northern men, or those Lawyers who drove on most furiously with them; All who, were pleased with the Government it-Self of the Church.

A Bill passed
 in the House
 of Commons
 to take away
 the Bishops
 Votes in Par-
 liament.

The First Design that was entertained against the Church; and which was received in the House of Commons, with a visible Countenance and Approbation of many, who where neither of the same Principles nor Purposes; was a short Bill that was brought in, "to take away the Bishops Votes in
 " Parliament; and to leave them out in all Com-
 " missions of the Peace; or that had relation to
 " any Temporal affairs." This was contrived, with great Deliberation and Preparation, to dispose men to Consent to it: And to this, many the House of Peers were much disposed; and amongst Them, none more than the Earl of *Essex*, and all the

Popular Lords ; who observed , “ that they seldom
 “ carried any thing which directly opposed the
 “ King’s interest, by reason of the number of the
 “ Bishops , who , for the most part , unanimously
 “ concurred against it , and opposed many of their
 “ other designs : and they believed that it could do
 “ the Church no harm , by the Bishops having
 “ fewer Diversions from their Spiritual Charges.”

In the House of Commons, they used That , and
 other Arguments , to remove the Prejudice from it ;
 and, As there were many who were persuaded, that
 the Passing that Bill would be no Prejudice ; and were
 as unwilling , that the Bishops should be Justices of
 the Peace , or in any other Secular Commissions,
 as the Lords were that they should Sit with them :
 So they prevailed with Others , who heartily desired
 that there might be no such Diminution of Their
 Honor and Authority, by persuading Them, “ That
 “ there was so great a Concurrence towards the
 “ Passing this Bill ; and so great a Combination
 “ throughout the Nation against the whole Go-
 “ vernment of the Church , and a Resolution to
 “ Destroy it absolutely : in which the *Scots* were
 “ so resolutely engaged, that They discoursed in
 “ all Companies , That it was Impossible for a firm
 “ Peace to be preserved between the Nations , if
 “ Bishops were not taken away ; and that the Ar-
 “ my would never march out of the Kingdom, till
 “ that were brought to pass : But that if this Bill
 “ were once Passed , a greater number in Both
 “ Houses would be so well Satisfied , that the
 “ Violenter Party would be never able to prosecute

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III.

“ Their Designs. ” And this reason did prevail over many men of excellent Judgments , and unquestionable Affections ; who did in truth at that time believe , “ that the Passing this Act , was the only “ expedient to Preserve the Church : infomuch , as when it was brought into the House , it found a better reception than was expected ; and some men , who , others thought , would have opposed it , spoke on its behalf , expressing their desire “ that “ it might Pass ”

There was a Difference in Opinion in this Debate between Two persons , who had been never known to differ in the House , and the entire Friendship they had for each other was very remarkable ; which administered much Pleasure to very many who loved neither of them When the Bill was put to the Question , Mr. *Hyde* (who was from the beginning known to be an Enemy to it) spoke very earnestly “ for the Throwing it out ; ” said , “ It was Changing “ the whole Frame and Constitution of the Kingdom ; and of the Parliament it-Self : That from “ the time that Parliaments begun , there had never “ been one Parliament , where the Bishops were “ not part of it : That if They were taken out of “ the House , there would be but Two Estates “ left ; for that They as the Clergy were the Third “ Estate , and being taken away , there was No “ body left to represent the Clergy : which would “ introduce Another piece of Injustice , which no “ Other part of the Kingdom could Complain of , “ who were All represented in Parliament , and “ were therefore bound to Submit to all that was

“ Enacted, because it was upon the matter with
 “ their Own consent : Whereas, if the Bishops
 “ were taken from sitting in the House of Peers,
 “ there was no body who could pretend to represent
 “ the Clergy ; and yet They must be bound by
 “ Their determinations.”

When He had done ; the Lord *Falkland*, who
 always sat next to him (which was so much taken
 notice of, that, if they came not into the House
 together, as usually they did, every body left the
 place for him that was absent) suddenly stood up,
 and declared himself “ to be of Another opinion ;
 “ and that, As he thought the thing itself to be
 “ absolutely necessary for the Benefit of the Church,
 “ which was in so great Danger ; So he had never
 “ heard, that the Constitution of the Kingdom
 “ would be Violated by the Passing that Act ; and
 “ that He had heard Many of the Clergy protest,
 “ That they could Not acknowledge that They
 “ were represented by the Bishops. However we
 “ might presume, That if they could make that
 “ appear, that They were a third Estate, that the
 “ House of Peers (amongst whom They sat, and
 “ had Yet their Votes) would Reject it.” And
 so, with some Facetiousness, answering some other
 particulars, concluded “ for the Passing the Act.”

The House was so marvellously Delighted, to
 see the Two inseparable Friends Divided in so
 Important a point, that they could not contain from
 a kind of Re-joicing ; and the more, because they
 saw Mr. *Hyde* was much Surprised with the Con-
 tradiction ; as in truth he was ; having never dis-

B O O K covered the least Inclination in the Other, towards
III. Such a compliance: and therefore they entertained an Imagination, and Hope that they might work the Lord *Falkland* to a Farther Concurrence with them. But they quickly found themselves Disappointed; and that, As there was not the least Interruption of close Friendship between the other Two; So, when the same Argument came again into Debate, about six months after, the Lord *Falkland* Changed his opinion, and gave them all the Opposition he could: nor was he reserved in acknowledging, "that he had been Deceived, and " by Whom;" and confessed to his Friends, with whom he would deal freely, "that Mr. *Hambden* " had assured him, that if That Bill might Pass, " there would be nothing More attempted to the " Prejudice of the Church:" which He thought, as the world Then went, would be no ill composition.

This Bill, for taking away the Bishops Votes out of the House of Peers, produced another Discovery, which cast the Conductors farther Behind, than they were Advanced by their conquest amongst the Commons; and Disquieted them much more, than the other had Exalted them. How currently soever it had passed in the Lower House; when it was brought to the Upper, the Lords gave it not so gracious a reception as was expected: Many of the greatest men of that House, grew Weary of the Empire which the Others had exercised over them; and Some, who had gone with them, upon their observation that they had Worse Designs than they owned, fell from them, and took the opportunity

to discover themselves, upon the Debate of this Bill; against which, they Inveighed with great Sharpness; and Blamed the House of Commons, "for Presuming to meddle with an affair, that so immediately concerned Themselves: That it they might send up a Bill This day, at Once to take out one whole Bench from the House, as this would do the Bishops, they might to Morrow send Another, to take away the Barons, or some other degree of the Nobility:" with many more Arguments, as the nature of the thing would easily administer; with such Warmth, and Vigor, as They had not before expressed: Insomuch as, though the other Party, which had not hitherto been withstood, set up Their Rest upon the carrying it; supplying their other Arguments with that, "How much the House of Commons, which best knew the temper and expectation of the Nation, would Resent their Not concurring with them, in a Remedy they judged so necessary; and what the Consequence might be, of such a Breach between the Two Houses, they trembled to think; since the Kingdom had no hope of being Preserved but by Their Union, and the effects of their Wisdom, in Removing all Things, and all Persons, out of the way, which were like to Obstruct such a thorough Reformation, as the Kingdom needs and expects" (All which, had so little effect that the House could not be prevailed with, so much as to Commit the Bill (a countenance, they frequently give to Bills they never intend to pass) but at the Second reading it, they utterly cast it out.

The House
of Lords Re-
ject the Bill.

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This unexpected, and unimagined act, cast such a Damp upon the Spirits of the Governing Party, in both Houses, that they knew not what to do: the Mischiefs which were in view, by this discovery of the temper of the House of Peers, had no bottom; they were not now sure, that they should be able to carry any thing; for the major part, which threw out this Bill, might cross them in any thing they went about: besides the Influence it would have in the House of Commons, and every where else, for they knew very well, how Many of their followers Therefore followed Them, because they believed They would carry all before them.

However, that Their Spirits might not be thought to fail, they made haste to proceed in all the angry, and cholerick things before them: to the Trial of the Earl of *Strafford*; Impeaching several Bishops for Innovations, and the like; the House of Commons, being very diligent, to kindle those Fires which might warm the Peers: and that the Bishops might see how little they had gotten, by obstructing the other Bill; They prepared a very short Bill, “for the utter Eradication of Bishops, Deans, and Chapters; with all Chancellors, Officials, and all Officers, and other persons, belonging to Either of them:” which they prevailed with Sir *Edward Deering*, a man very opposite to all their designs (but a man of levity and vanity; easily flattered, by being commended) to Present into the House; which he did from the Gallery, with the two Verses in *Ovid*; the application whereof, was his greatest motive;

A Bill brought into the House of Commons by Sir Edward Deering, for Extirpating Bishops, Deans and Chapters, &c.

*Cuncta prius tentanda, sed immedicabile vulnus
Ense recidendum est, ne pars sincera trahatur.*

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He took notice, "of the great Moderation and
" Candor of the House, in applying so gentle a
" Remedy, by the late Bill, to Retrench the Exor-
" bitancies of the Clergy: hoping, that the pruning
" and taking off a few Unnecessary Branches from
" the Trunk, the Tree might prosper the better;
" that this Mortification might have mended their
" Constitution, and that they would have the more
" carefully intended their health: but that this soft
" Remedy had proved so Ineffectual, that they were
" grown more Obstinate and Incurable; So that
" it was now necessary to put the Ax to the Root
" of the Tree;" and thereupon desired, "that the
" Bill might be read."

As soon as the Title of it was read (which was
almost as long as the Bill itself) it was moved with
great warmth, "that the Bill might Not be read:
" That it was against the Custom and Rule of the
" House of Commons, that any Private person should
" take upon him (without having first obtained the
" leave and direction of the House) to bring in a
" New Act, so much as to abrogate and abolish any
" Old single Law; and therefore, that it was a won-
" derful Presumption in that Gentleman, without
" any communication of his purpose, or so much as
" a motion that he might do it, to bring in a Bill,
" that overthrew and repealed so Many Acts of Par-
" liament, and changed and confounded the whole
" Frame of the Government of the Kingdom:" and
therefore desired, "that it might be Rejected." The

B O O K Gentleman who brought it in, made many Excuses
III. “ for his Ignorance in the Customs of Parliament,
 “ having never before served in any ;” and acknowledged , “ that he had never read more than the
 “ Title of the Bill: and was prevailed with by his
 “ Neighbour who sat next to him (who was Sir
 “ *Arthur Huslerig*) to deliver it ;” which he saw
 would have been done by some body else Though
 the Rejecting it, was earnestly urged by very Many;
 and ought, by the Rules of the House, to have been
 done; yet, all the Other people, as violently pressed
 the Reading it; and none so Importunately, as *Saint-*
John, who was at this time the King’s Solicitor
 (who in truth had drawn it) He said, “ No body
 “ could judge of a Bill by the Title, which might
 “ be false; and this Bill, for ought any one knew
 “ to the contrary, at least, for ought He and many
 “ others knew, might contain, the Establishing the
 “ Bishops, and granting other Immunities to the
 “ Church; instead of pursuing the matter of the
 “ Title;” and Others, as Ingeniously declaring,
 “ That our Orders are in our Own power, and to
 “ be Altered, or Dispensed with, as We see cause:”
 Many out of Curiosity desiring to hear it read: and
 More to show the Lords that they would not abate
 their mettle; upon their declaring their pleasure,
 the Bill was at last Read; and no Question being put,
 upon the First reading, it was laid by, and not cal-
 led upon in a long time after: many men being really
 persuaded, that there was no intention to pursue it;
 and that it was only brought in, to manifest a neglect
 towards the Lords.

but laid by
 for that time.

The Northern Gentlemen, at least They who were most active, and had most credit (as *Hotham*, and *Cholmely* and *Stapleton*) were marvellously solicitous, to despatch the Commitment of the Bill "for taking away the Court of *York*;" and having after great debate, and hearing what all Parties interested could offer, gotten the Committee to Vote, "That it was an Illegal Commission, and very Prejudicial to the Liberty and the Property of his Majesty's Subjects of those Four Northern Counties, where that Jurisdiction was exercised;" They called upon Mr. *Hyde* (the Chairman) to make the Report: and the House having concurred in, and confirmed, the same Vote; they appointed Him "to prepare himself to deliver the Opinion of the House at a Conference with the House of Peers, and to desire Their Concurrence in it; and that They would thereupon be Suitors to the King, that there might be no more Commissions of that kind granted:" for they had a great apprehension, that either upon the Earl of *Strafford's* Resignation, or his Death (which they resolved should be very shortly) they should have a new President put over them.

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III

A Vote passed
in the House
of Commons
against the
Court of York.

Mr. *Hyde*, at the Conference in the Painted Chamber (being appointed by the House to manage it) told the Lords, "That the Four Northern Counties were Suitors to their Lordships, that They might not be distinguished from the rest of his Majesty's Subjects, in the administration of his Justice, and receiving the Fruits of it; that they Only were left to the Arbitrary Power of a Pre-

A Conference
with the Lords
about it.

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“ fident and Council, which every day procured
 “ new Authority and Power to opprefs them: ”
 He told them, “ That till the Thirty-first year of
 “ King *Henry* the Eighth, the administration of Jus-
 “ tice was the Same in the North, as in the West, or
 “ other parts of the Realm; that about that time,
 “ there was some Infurrection in that Country,
 “ which produced great Disorders and Bloodshed,
 “ which spread itself to the very Borders of *Scotland*:
 “ whereupon, that King issued out a Commission to
 “ the Arch-Bishop of *York*, and the principal
 “ Gentlemen of those Counties, and some learned
 “ Lawyers, to Examine the Grounds of all those
 “ Disorders, and to proceed against the Malefactors
 “ with all Severity, according to the Laws of the
 “ Land. ” He read the first Commission to them;
 which appeared to be no other, than a bare Com-
 mission of Oyer and Terminer. “ It was found that
 “ this Commission did much good, and therefore it
 “ was kept on foot for some time longer than such
 “ Commissions use to be; and it was often renewed
 “ after, but still in the same Form, or very little
 “ Alteration, till Queen *Elizabeth’s* time; and Then
 “ there was an Alteration in the Commission itself;
 “ besides that, it had reference to Instructions, which
 “ contained matters of State upon some emergent oc-
 “ casions: There were more, and greater Altera-
 “ tions, both in the Commission and Instructions,
 “ in the time of King *James*, when the Lord *Scroop*
 “ was President; and that, when the Lord *Strafford*
 “ was first made President, they were more enlarged;
 “ and yet He had procured new Additions to be

“made Twice after.” The Instructions of the Se- B O O K
 veral times were read ; and the Alterations observed ; III.
 and some Precedents very pertinently urged ; in
 which it appeared, that Great men had been very
 severely Sentenced, in no less Penalty than of a Pre-
 munire, for Procuring and Executing such Com-
 missions: and He concluded, with ‘desiring the
 “ Lords to concur in the same Sense, the House of
 “ Commons had expressed themselves to be of, with
 “ reference to the Commission and Instructions.”

The Speech, and Argument, met with good Ap- The Lords
concurred
with the
Commons,
 probation in Both Houses ; where He got great
 Credit by it: and the Earl of *Bath*, who was to
 Report it, and had no excellent or graceful Pronun-
 ciation, came Himself to Mr *Hyde*, and “desired
 “ a Copy of it, that he might not do him wrong in
 “ the House, by the Report ;” and having received
 it, it was Read in the House, and by order Entered,
 and the Paper itself affixed to their Journal ; where
 it still remains ; and the House of Peers fully con-
 curred with the Commons in Their Vote ; So that
 there was not, in many years after, any Attempt,
 or so much as Mention of another Commission.

The Northern men were so well pleased, that they
 resolved to move the House, “to give Mr. *Hyde*
 “ Public Thanks for the Service he had done the
 “ House:” but the Principal Leaders diverted them
 from it, by saying, “That he had too much Credit
 “ already, and needed not such an Addition, as
 “ He behaved himself.” However, those Northern
 men themselves continued marvellously kind ; and
 on His behalf, on all occasions, opposed any Com-

B O O K bination of the most Powerful of them against him:
III. of which somewhat will be said hereafter

The Opposition in the Lords House, and the frequent Contradiction in the House of Commons, had allayed much of the Fury which had so much prevailed; and all men impatiently desired that the Armies might be Discharged; when all men believed, better quarter would be kept: but no progress would be made towards that, till the Earl of *Strafford's* business could be despatched; the *Scots*, being bound to gratify their *English* Friends in that particular, as if it were their Own work. They who treated for the Promotions at Court, were solicitous to finish that; as what would do All the rest: and the King was as positive, not to do any thing towards it, till he might Secure the Life of the Earl of *Strafford*; which being done, He would do any thing. And the Earl of *Bedford*, who had in truth more Authority with the Violent men than any body else, labored heartily to bring it to pass.

In the Afternoon of the same day (when the Conference had been in the Painted Chamber upon Cothe urt of *York*) Mr. *Hyde* going to a Place called *Piccadilly* (which was a fair House for Entertainment, and Gaming, with handsome Gravel-walks with Shade, and where were an upper and lower Bowling-Green, whither very many of the Nobility, and Gentry of the best Quality, resorted, both for Exercise and Conversation) As soon as ever He came into the ground, the Earl of *Bedford* came to him: and after some short Compliments

upon what had passed in the Morning, told him,
 " He was glad he was come thither, for there was
 " a Friend of his in the lower ground, who needed
 " his counsel." He then lamented " the Misery the
 " Kingdom was like to fall into, by their Own
 " Violence, and want of Temper, in the Prosecu-
 " tion of their own Happiness." He said, " This
 " business concerning the Earl of *Strafford*, was a
 " Rock upon which we should all Split, and that
 " the Passion of the Parliament would Destroy the
 " Kingdom That the King was ready to do all
 " They could desire, if the Life of the Earl of *Straf-*
 " *ford* might be spared: That his Majesty was satis-
 " fied, that He had proceeded with more Passion
 " in many things, than he ought to have done, by
 " which he had rendered himself Useless to His
 " Service for the future; and therefore He was well
 " content, that he might be made Incapable of any
 " Employment for the time to come; and that he
 " should be Banished, or Imprisoned for his Life, as
 " They should chuse: That if they would take
 " his Death upon Them, by their Own Judicatory,
 " He would not Interpose any act of his Own Con-
 " science: But since they had declined that way, and
 " meant to proceed by an Act of Parliament, to
 " which He himself must be a Party, that it could
 " not consist with His Conscience, ever to give his
 " Royal Assent to that Act; because, having been
 " present at the whole Trial" (as he had been, in a Box
 " provided on purpose, *Incognito*, though Conspi-
 " cuous enough) " and heard all the Testimony they
 " had given against him, He had heard nothing

BOOK III. “ proved, by which he could believe that he was
 “ a Traitor, either in Fact, or in Intention: and
 “ therefore his Majesty did most earnestly desire,
 “ that the two Houses would not bring him a Bill
 “ to Pass, which in Conscience he could not, and
 “ would not Consent to.

The Earl continued; “ That though He yet was
 “ satisfied so well in his Own Conscience, that he
 “ believed he should have no Scruple in giving his
 “ own Vote for the Passing it” (for it yet depended
 in the Lords House) “ He knew not how the King
 “ could be pressed to do an act so contrary to his
 “ Own Conscience; and that for His part, He took
 “ all the pains he could to persuade his Friends, to
 “ Decline their violent Prosecution, and to be
 “ Content with the Remedy proposed by the King;
 “ which he thought might be rendered so Secure,
 “ that there need remain no Fears of that man’s
 “ ever appearing again in Business: and that how
 “ difficult a work soever he found it to be, he
 “ should not despair of it, if he could persuade the
 “ Earl of *Essex* to comply; but that he found him
 “ so obstinate, that he could not in the least degree
 “ prevail with him; that he had left his Brother,
 “ the Earl of *Hertford*” (who was that day made a
 Marquis) “ in the lower ground, walking with
 “ him, who he knew would do all He could; and
 “ he desired Mr. *Hyde*, to walk down into that
 “ place, and take his turn, to persuade the Earl of
 “ *Essex* to what was reasonable;” which He was very
 willing to do.

He found the Marquis and the Earl walking there
 together,

together, and no other persons with them; and as soon as they saw Him, they Both came to meet him; and the Marquis, after a short Salutation, departed, and left the other Two together; which he did purposely. The Earl begun merrily, in telling Him; "That He had that Morning performed a Service, which He knew he did not intend to do; that by what He had said against the Court of *York*, he had revived Their Indignation against the Earl of *Strafford*; So that He now hoped, they should proceed in their Bill against him with Vigor (whereas they had slept so long upon it) which he said was the Effect, of which he was sure He had no mind to be the Cause. Mr. *Hyde* confessed, He had indeed no Such purpose; and hoped, that somewhat he had said might put Other thoughts into them, to proceed in another manner upon his Crimes; That He knew well, that the Cause of their having slept so long upon the Bill, was their Disagreement upon the point of Treason, which the longer they thought of, would administer the more Difficulties: But that if they declined That, they should all agree, that there were Crimes and Misdemeanours evidently enough Proved, to deserve so Severe a Censure, as would absolutely take away all Power from the Earl of *Strafford*, that might prove Dangerous to the Kingdom; or Mischievous to any particular Person, to whom he was not a Friend "

He shook his head, and answered, "Stone Dead hath no Fellow: that if he were judged Guilty in a Premunire, according to the Precedents cited

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“ by Him; or Fined in any other way; and Sentenced to be Imprisoned during his Life; the King would presently grant him his Pardon, and his Estate, release all Fines, and would likewise give him his Liberty, as soon as He had a mind to receive his Service; which would be as soon as the Parliament should be ended.” And when Mr. *Hyde* was ready to reply to him; the Earl told him Familiarly, “ that He had been Tired that Afternoon upon that Argument, and therefore desired him to continue the discourse no longer Then; assuring him, He would be ready to Confer with him upon it at any other time.”

Shortly after, Mr. *Hyde* took another opportunity to speak freely with him again concerning it, but found him upon his guard; and though he heard all the Other would say, with great patience, yet he did not at all enlarge in his answers, but seemed fixed in his resolution: and when he was pressed, “ how Unjustifiable a thing it was, for any man to do any thing which his Conscience informed him was Sinful; that He knew him so well, that if He were not satisfied in his Own Conscience, of the Guilt of the Earl of *Strafford*, the King could never be able to oblige him to give his Vote for that Bill; and therefore He wondered, how he could urge the King, to do an act which He declared to be so much against his Conscience, that he neither could, nor would, ever give his Royal Assent to that Bill:” The Earl answered more at large, and with some commotion (as if he were in truth possessed with that opinion himself) “ That

“ the King was obliged in Conscience to conform
 “ Himself, and his own Understanding, to the
 “ Advice and Conscience of his Parliament:” which
 was a Doctrine newly resolved by their Divines,
 and of great Use to them for the pursuing their
 future Counsels.

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Notwithstanding all this, the Bill had not that
 warm reception in the House of Peers, that was
 expected; but, after the First reading, rested many
 days; and being then read the Second time depended
 long at the Committee: few men believing, upon
 consideration of the Affections and Parts of the
 Several Lords, that of the Fourscore, who were
 present at the Trial, above Twenty would ever
 have Consented to that Act: Besides, it was not
 believed, now the Formal Trial and way of
 Judicature was waved, the Bishops would so
 Stupidly (to say no worse) Exclude themselves
 from Voting in a Law which was to be an Act of
 Parliament.

But there happened about that time Two Acci-
 dents, which (though not Then, or it may be Since,
 taken notice of, as of any moment or relation to
 that business) contributed strangely to the Passing
 that Bill; and so to the Fate of that great Person.
 The first, a Discovery of some Meetings, and Dis-
 courses, between some Persons of near Relation
 to his Majesty's Service, and some Officers of the
 Army; about the High Proceedings of the Parlia-
 ment; and of some Expedients, that might Reduce
 them to a Better temper; which were no sooner
 Intimated to some of the great Managers, than

Two Acci-
 dents that
 contributed
 much towards
 Passing the
 Bill against
 the Earl of
 Stafford.

B O O K the whole was formed and shaped into "a Formi-
III. " dable, and Bloody Design against the Parliament."

The Second, the sudden Death of the Earl of *Bedford*. Of Both which, it will be necessary to say somewhat; that it may be observed, from how little Accidents, and small Circumstances, by the Art and Industry of These men, the Greatest Matters have flowed, towards the Confusion we have Since labored under.

The First, a
 Discovery of
 some Corre-
 spondences
 between the
 Court and
 some Princi-
 pa Officers
 of the En-
 glish Army.

Some Principal Officers of the Army, who were Members of the House of Commons, and had been Caressed, both before and after the Beginning of the Parliament, by the most Popular Agents of both Houses; and had in truth Contributed more to Their Designs, than was agreeable to their Duty, and the Trust reposed in them by the King; found themselves Now not so Particularly considered as they expected, by that Party; and their Credit in other places, and particularly in the Army, to be lessened: for that there was visibly much more Care taken for the Supply of the *Scottish* Army, than of the King's; insomuch, that sometimes Money that was assigned and paid for the use of the King's Army, was again taken away, and disposed to the Other: and yet, that the Parliament much presumed, and depended, upon their Interest in, and Power to dispose, the Affections of that Army.

Therefore to redeem what had been done amiss, and to ingratiate themselves in his Majesty's favor, they bethought themselves how to dispose, or at least to pretend that they would dispose, the Army,

to some such expressions of Duty and Loyalty towards the King, as might take away all hope from other men, that it might be applied to His disservice: and to that purpose, they had Conference, and Communication, with some Servants of a more immediate trust and relation to Both their Majesties; through Whom they might convey their Intentions and Devotions to the King, and again receive his Royal Pleasure, and Direction, How they should demean themselves. For ought I could ever observe, by what was afterwards reported in the House of Commons; or could learn, from Those who were most Conversant with all the Secrets of That design; there was never the least intention of working farther upon the Affections of the Army, than to preserve them from being Corrupted, or made use of, for the Imposing Unjust and Unreasonable things upon the King: and all that the King ever so much as Consented should be done by Them, was, that as most Counties in *England*, or rather, the Factious and Seditious persons in most Counties, had been induced to Frame and Subscribe Petitions to the Parliament, against the Established Government of the Church, with other Clauses, Scandalous to the Government of the State too; So the Officers of the Army too, should Subscribe this following Petition; which was brought Ingrossed to his Majesty for his Approbation, before they would presume to recommend it to any for their Subscription.

BOOK

III.

The Petition
intended to
be Subscribed
by the Officers.
cers.

*To the King's most excellent Majesty; the Lords
Spiritual, and Temporal; the Knights, Citizens,
and Burgeffes, now assembled in the High Court
of Parliament,*

" The humble Petition of the Officers and
" Soldiers of the Army,

" Humbly sheweth, That although our Wants
" have been very Pressing, and the Burden we are
" become unto these Parts (by reason of those
" Wants) very Grievous unto us; yet so have we
" demeaned ourselves, that your Majesty's great
" and Weighty Affairs, in this present Parliament,
" have hitherto received no Interruption, by any
" Complaint either from us, or against us; a Temper
" not usual in Armies; especially in one Destitute
" not only of Pay, but also of Martial Discipline,
" and many of its Principal Officers; that we cannot
" but attribute it to a Particular Blessing of Al-
" mighty God, on Our most Hearty Affections and
" Zeal to the Common Good, in the Happy Success
" of This Parliament; to which, as we should have
" been ready hourly to contribute our dearest blood,
" so now that it hath pleased God to manifest his
" Blessing, so evidently therein, we cannot but
" acknowledge it with thankfulness; as likewise his
" great Mercy, in that he hath inclined your
" Majesty's Royal heart so to co-operate with the
" Wisdom of the Parliament, as to effect so great
" and happy a Reformation upon the former
" Distemper of this Church and Common-wealth:
" as First, in your Majesty's gracious condescending

“ to the many important demands of our Neighbours
 “ of the *Scottish* Nation; Secondly, in granting so
 “ free a course of Justice against all Delinquents of
 “ what quality soever; Thirdly, in the removal of
 “ all those Grievances, wherewith the Subjects did
 “ conceive either their Liberty of persons, Property,
 “ or Estate, or freedom of Conscience, prejudiced;
 “ And lastly, in the greatest pledge of Security that
 “ ever the Subjects of *England* received from their
 “ Sovereign, the Bill of Triennial Parliaments.”

“ These things so graciously accorded unto by
 “ your Majesty, without bargain or compensation,
 “ as they are more than expectation or hope could
 “ extend unto, so now certainly they are such, as
 “ all Loyal hearts ought to acquiesce in with thank-
 “ fulness; which We do with all humility, and do
 “ at this time, with as much earnestness as any, pray,
 “ and wish, that the Kingdom may be settled in
 “ Peace and Quietness, and that all men may, at
 “ their own homes, enjoy the Blessed Fruits of
 “ Your Wisdom and Justice.”

“ But it may please your Excellent Majesty, and
 “ this High Court of Parliament, to give us leave,
 “ with grief and anguish of heart, to represent unto
 “ you, that we hear that there are certain Persons
 “ Stirring and Pragmatical, Who, instead of ren-
 “ dering Glory to God, Thanks to your Majesty, and
 “ Acknowledgment to the Parliament, remain yet
 “ as Unsatisfied and Mutinous as ever; Who,
 “ whilst all the rest of the Kingdom are arrived
 “ even beyond their Wishes, are daily forging
 “ new and unseasonable Demands; Who, whilst

BOOK
III.

“ all men of Reason, Loyalty, and Moderation;
 “ are thinking how they may provide for your
 “ Majesty’s Honor and Plenty, in return of so
 “ many Graces to the Subject, are still attempting
 “ new Diminutions of your Majesty’s just Regalities,
 “ which must ever be no less dear to all honest
 “ men, than our own Freedoms; In fine, men of
 “ such turbulent Spirits, as are ready to Sacrifice
 “ the honor and welfare of the whole Kingdom to
 “ Their private fancies, whom nothing else than
 “ a Subversion of the whole frame of Government
 “ will satisfy: far be it from Our thoughts to believe,
 “ that the Violence and Unreasonableness of Such
 “ kind of Persons, can have any Influence upon
 “ the Prudence and Justice of the Parliament. But
 “ that which begets the Trouble and Disquiet of
 “ Our loyal hearts, at this present, is, that we
 “ hear Those ill-affected Persons, are backed in
 “ their Violence, by the Multitude and the Power
 “ of raising Tumults; that Thousands flock at
 “ Their call, and beset the Parliament, and *White-*
 “ *Hall* itself; not only to the Prejudice of that
 “ Freedom which is necessary to great Councils
 “ and Judicatories, but possibly to some Personal
 “ Danger of your Sacred Majesty, and the Peers.
 “ The vast Consequence of these Persons Ma-
 “ lignity, and of the Licentiousness of those
 “ Multitudes that follow them, considered, in
 “ most deep Care and zealous Affection for the
 “ Safety of your Sacred Majesty, and the Par-
 “ liament; Our Humble Petition is, That in Your
 “ Wisdom, you would be pleased to remove such

“ dangers, by Punishing the Ringleaders of these
 “ Tumults, that your Majesty and the Parliament
 “ may be secured from such Insolencies hereafter.
 “ For the Suppressing of which, in all Humility
 “ We offer ourselves to wait upon you (if You
 “ please) hoping We shall appear as considerable
 “ in the way of Defence, to our Gracious Sovereign,
 “ the Parliament, our Religion, and the Established
 “ Laws of the Kingdom, as what Number soever
 “ shall audaciously presume to Violate them: So
 “ shall We, by the Wisdom of your Majesty and
 “ the Parliament, not only be Vindicated from
 “ Precedent Innovations, but be Secured from
 “ the Future, that are threatened, and likely to
 “ produce more dangerous effects than the former.”

B O O K
 III.

“ And we shall pray, &c.”

His Majesty having read this Petition, and
 conceiving that the Authority of the Army might
 seem of as great Importance for the good reception
 of so much Reason and Justice, as the Subscription
 of a Rabble had been alledged often to be, for the
 Countenance of what in truth was Mutinous and
 Seditious, said, “ that He approved well enough
 “ of it, and was content that it might be Subscribed
 “ by the Officers of the Army, if They desired it.”
 The Officer who presented the Draught to his
 Majesty, told him, “ that very Few of the Army
 “ had yet seen it: and that it would be a great
 “ Countenance to it, if, when it was carried to the
 “ Principal Officers who were first to Sign it, any
 “ evidence might be given to them, that it had

The true
 matter of
 fact con-
 cerning that
 Petition.

B O O K “ passed his Majesty’s approbation: otherwise they
 III. “ might possibly make Scruple for fear of offending
 “ Him.” Thereupon, his Majesty took a Pen,
 and writ at the bottom of the Petition *C. R.* as
 a token that He had perused and allowed it: and
 so the Petition was carried down into the Country
 where the Army lay, and was Signed by some
 Officers; but was suddenly quashed, and no more
 heard of, till the Discovery of the pretended Plot:
 of which more in its place.

The Meetings continuing, between those Officers
 of the Army and some Servants of his Majesty’s,
 to the Ends afore-said; Others of the Army, who
 had expressed very brisk resolutions towards the
 Service, and were of eminent Command and Au-
 thority with the Soldiers, were by special direction
 introduced into those Councils (all persons obliging
 themselves, by an Oath of Secrecy, not to com-
 municate any thing that should pass amongst them)
 for the better executing what should be agreed.

At the first meeting, One of the Persons that
 was so introduced, after he had heard the calm
 Propositions of the rest, and that “ Their design
 “ was, only to observe and defend the Laws,
 “ that Neither the Arguments of the *Scots*, nor
 “ the Reputation of their Army, might compel
 “ the King to Consent to the Alteration of the
 “ Government of the Church, nor to remove
 “ the Bishops out of the House of Peers, which
 “ would, in a great degree, produce an Alteration;
 “ Or the Power of any Discontented Persons,
 “ by their Tumultuary Petitions, Impose upon,

or Diminish, the Just Legal Power of the King," told them, "Those Resolutions would produce very little effects for his Majesty's Service; That there was but One way to do his Majesty notable Service, which was by bringing up the Army presently to *London*, which would so Awe the Parliament, that they would do any thing the King commanded." There was not (as I have been credibly informed) man in the company, that did not perfectly abhor or seemed so to do) that odious Proposition; but contented themselves with making such Objections against it, as rendered it Ridiculous and Unpracticable: and so the Meeting, for that time, dissolved. Whether the Person that proposed this desperate Advice, did it only as a Bait, to draw an opinion from other men (for he had a perfect dislike and aversion to some of the company) or whether he desired to see his Counsel rejected, and the Fear that it might be discovered to his Disadvantage, brought upon him, I know not; But the same, the next day, He discovered All, and More than had passed, to some of Those who seemed to take most care for the Public; intimated to them, "how he was Startled with the horror of the design, and how Faithfully He resolved to serve the Common-wealth, or to lose his life in the attempt:" Yet, at the same time, acted his part at Court, with all possible demonstration of abhorring the Proceedings of the Parliament, to that degree, that he offered, "to undertake with a Crew of Officers and good Fellows (who, he

BOOK

III.

B O O K

III.

“ said, were at His disposal) to Rescue the Earl of *Strafford* from the Lieutenant of the Tower: as he should bring him to his Trial, and so to enable him to make an escape into Foreign parts. ’

The Discovery being thus made, to the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Kimbolton*, and no doubt by Them communicated to their chief Associates; as Dangerous as the design was Afterwards alledged to be, it was not Published in three Months after to the Houses, against whom the design was intended; nor till long after the death of the Earl of *Bedford*: who no doubt, rather desired to bind up those Wounds which were made, than to make them wider, by entertaining new Jealousies between King and People; and would not consent to the extending and extorting Conclusions, which did not naturally flow from the Premises; without which, This so useful a Treason to them, could not have been made up.

But as They thought not fit (as I said before) to publish this Whole Discovery till near three months after, so they made extraordinary Use of it by Parts, from the Instant that they received the Secret; it being always their custom. when they found the Heat and Distemper of the House (which they endeavoured to keep up, by the sharp mention and remembrance of former Grievances and Presures) in any degree Allayed, by some gracious Act, or gracious Profession of the King’s, to warm and inflame them again with a Discovery, or Promise of a Discovery, of some notable Plot and Conspiracy against Themselves, “ to Dissolve the

“Parliament by the Papists :” or some other way, B O O K
in which they would be sure that somewhat always III.
should reflect upon the Court.” Thus they were
sometimes informing, “of great multitudes of
“Papists gathering together in *Lancashire*; then
“of Secret Meetings in Caves, and under ground
“in *Surrey*; Letters from beyond Sea, of great
“Provisions of Arms making There for the Catho-
“lics of *England* ;” and the like; which upon Exa-
mination always Vanished : but for the time (and
they were always applied in useful articles of Time)
served to transport Common minds with Fears and
Apprehensions, and so induced them to comply in
sense with Those, who were like soonest to find
Remedies for those Diseases which none but them-
selves could discover. And in this Progress, there
sometimes happened strange Accidents for the con-
firmation of their credit.

Whilst they were full of Clamor against the
Papists, upon the instances of some Insolences and
Indiscretions committed by them, during the late
intervals of Parliament (and mentioned before)
especially upon a great Alacrity expressed, and
Contribution raising, the year before, for advancing
the War with *Scotland*; an Order was made, “that
“the Justices of Peace of *Westminster* should care-
“fully examine, what strangers were lodged within
“their Jurisdiction; and that they should administer
“the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to all
“suspected for Recusancy, and proceed according
“to those Statutes.” An Afternoon being appointed
for that Service, in *Westminster - Hall*, and many

B O O K Persons warned to appear there, amongst the rest
 III. one *James*, a Papist, appeared and being
 pressed by Mr. *Hayward*, a Justice of Peace, to
 take the Oaths, suddenly drew out his Knife, and
 Stabbed him; with some Reproachful words, "for
 " Persecuting poor Catholics." This strange
 unheard of Outrage, upon the person of a Minister
 of Justice executing his Office by an Order of Par-
 liament, Startled all men; the old man Sinking with
 the hurt, though he died not of it. And though,
 for ought I could ever hear, it proceeded only
 from the rage of a sullen Varlet (formerly suspected
 to be Crazed in his understanding) without the
 least Confederacy or Combination with any other;
 Yet it was a great Countenance to Those, who
 were before thought over-Apprehensive and In-
 quisitive into Dangers; and made Many believe it
 rather a Design of All the Papists of *England*, than
 a Desperate Act of One man, who could never
 have been induced to it, if he had not been pro-
 mised Assistance by the rest.

The ill Use
 made of it in
 the House of
 Commons.

The Discovery of the Plot concerning the Army,
 being made about the middle of *April*, which was
 the end of the Earl of *Strafford's* Trial, they for the
 present made no farther Use of it than might contri-
 bute to their Ends in that business; reserving the
 rest (as was said before) to be applied in more
 necessary seasons: Therefore, about the time that the
 Bill of Attainder was preferred, that no interposition
 from the Court might discountenance or hinder that
 great work, Mr. *Pym* one day informed the House
 of Commons, "That He had great cause to fear, there

" was at that time as Desperate a Design and Con-
 " spiracy against the Parliament, as had been in any
 " Age; and he was in doubt, Persons of great Quality
 " and Credit at Court, had their hands in it: That
 " Several Officers had been treated with in *London* to
 " raise Men, under pretence that they should go to
 " *Portugal*; but that the *Portugal* Ambassador, being
 " conferred with about it, professed, that He knew
 " nothing of it; and that no person had any autho-
 " rity or promise from Him to that purpose" And it
 " is true, there had been some idle Discourses in a
 " Tavern between some Officers, about raising men
 " for *Portugal*, which was immediately carried to
 " Mr. *Pym*, as all Tavern and Ordinary discourses
 " were) " That for the present, He might not acquaint
 " them with all Particulars, which might Hinder
 " their further Discovery; only desired, that a
 " Message might be sent to the Lords, to desire
 " them to appoint a Committee to Examine such
 " Witnesses as should be produced, for the Dis-
 " covery of a Plot against the Parliament; and
 " that in the mean time, They would join in a
 " Message to the King, to desire his Majesty that
 " he would not, for some few days, grant any
 " Pass to any of his Servants to go beyond the Seas;
 " saying, that He believed, some men's Consciences
 " would tempt them to make an Escape, when they
 " heard of this Examination."

Such a Committee was appointed to Examine,
 and such a Message sent to his Majesty, as was
 desired. But in the mean time, some Persons who
 had been at the Tavern, and talked of raising

B O O K men for *Portugal*; and Others who had been at the
 III. Conference before mentioned, where the Proposi-
 tion was for bringing up the Army; finding that
 what had passed so Privately, and amongst Them-
 selves, had been Discovered; and was like to pass
 a very Severe Inquisition, from Them who made
 Glosses and Comments as they pleased, upon what
 other men spoke or did; and not knowing how
 much More than the Truth had been informed,
 or what Interpretation should be made of that which
 was the Truth; resolved not to trust themselves
 with Such Judges (whose formality was first to
 Imprison, and after, at Their leisure, to Examine)
 and so fled into *France*.

This was no sooner known and published, than
 it gave great Credit and Reputation to Mr. *Pym*'s
 Vigilancy and Activity; for it now appeared, there
 was some notable Mischief intended, upon the
 Discovery whereof, such Eminent men were Fled.
 And in this Disorder and Trouble of mind, men
 Fearing according as they were directed, the Bill
 of Attainder found the easier passage in the House
 of Commons.

Having gotten thus much ground; and the Bill
 then depending (and like long to depend) with the
 Lords; Mr. *Pym* told them in the House of Com-
 mons, " that it appeared by the Flight of such,
 " Considerable Persons, that what he had before
 " imparted to them was of Moment, and that his
 " Fears were not groundless; that it concerned
 " Their Service, that he should not Yet impart
 " the whole matter to them, since the Danger was
 prevented,

“ prevented, which they should shortly understand
 “ at large: in the mean time, he did assure them,
 “ That God had miraculously Preserved them from
 “ a most Prodigious Conspiracy, in which all their
 “ Privileges and Liberties should have been swal-
 “ lowed up: That though This attempt was Dis-
 “ appointed, yet he feared there might be some
 “ New device; and therefore He proposed, for the
 “ better evidence of their Union and Unanimity
 “ (which would be the greatest Discouragement
 “ to all who wished ill to them) that some Pro-
 “ testation might be entered into by the Members
 “ of Both Houses, for the Defence of their Privi-
 “ leges, and the Performance of those Duties to
 “ God and the King, which they were obliged to,
 “ as good Christians and good Subjects; and that
 “ a Committee might be appointed speedily to
 “ withdraw and prepare such a Protestation.”

The Motion was entertained with general Appro-
 bation; inasmuch as they who were apprehensive
 enough of the ill Designs of those who advanced
 This, and of the ill consequence of such Voluntary
 Protestations, thought fit rather to watch the Matter
 and Words, than to oppose the Thing itself; which,
 it was evident, it was to no purpose to do: and
 therefore they were well contented with the naming
 Such Persons for the Committee, as were not like
 to submit to any Unlawful or Inconvenient obliga-
 tion. This was urged as of such Consequence, that
 the Doors were locked, and no Persons suffered to
 go out of the House, till this should be concluded.

B O O K I. and at a distance, than at the present, and whilst he was amongst them. Besides he was in his nature much inclined to the *Scottish* Nation, having been born amongst them, and as Jealous, as any one of Them could be, of their Liberties and Privileges', and as Careful they might not be Invaded by the *English*, who, he knew, had no great reverence for them: and therefore the Objection, "that it would look like an Imposition from *England*, if a Form, fettled in Parliament at *Westminster*, should without any Alteration be tendered (though by Himself) to be submitted to, and observed in *Scotland*," made a deep Impression in his Majesty.

In a word, he committed the Framing, and Composing such a Liturgy, as would most probably be Acceptable to that People, to a select number of the Bishops there, who were very able and willing to undertake it: and so his Majesty returned into *England*, at the time he had designed, without having ever proposed, or made the least approach in Public, towards any Alteration in the Church.

It had been very happy, if there had been then nothing done indeed, that had any reference to that Affair, and that, since it was not ready, nothing had been transacted to promote it, which accidentally alienated the affections of the People from it; and what was done, was imputed to the Bishop of *London*, who was like enough to be guilty of it; since he did really believe, that nothing more contributed to the benefit, and advancement of the Church, than the promotion of Church-men to places of the greatest Honor, and Offices of the

highest Trust: This Opinion, and the Prosecution of it (though his Integrity was unquestionable, and his Zeal as great for the good and honor of the State, as for the advancement and security of the Church) was the unhappy Foundation of his own Ruin, and of the Prejudice towards the Church, the malice against it, and almost the Destruction of it.

During the King's stay in *Scotland*, when he found the conjuncture not yet ripe for perfecting that good Order, which he intended in the Church, he resolved to leave a Monument behind him of his own Affection and Esteem of it. *Edinburgh* though the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the chief Seat of the King's own Residence, and the Place where the Council of State and the Courts of Justice still remained, was but a Borough Town within the Diocese of the Arch-Bishop of *Saint Andrews*, and governed in all Church-affairs by the Preachers of the Town; who, being chosen by the Citizens from the time of Mr. *Knox* (who had a principal hand in the Suppression of Popery, with circumstances not very commendable to this day) had been the most turbulent, and seditious Ministers of Confusion, that could be found in the Kingdom; of which King *James* had so sad experience, after he came to age, as well as in his minority, that he would often say, " that his access to the Crown of *England* was " the more valuable to him, as it redeemed him from " the subjection to the ill manners; and insolent " practices of those Preachers, which he could never shake off before." The King before his return from thence, with the full consent, and approbation

BOOK

I.

The King
during his
stay there
erects the
Bishopric
of Edin-
borough.

B O O K the *Wednesday* following, some of their own Party
III. took occasion to inform the House, “that it was
 “apprehended by many well affected Persons
 “abroad, who were of notable and exemplary de-
 “votions to the Parliament, That if They should
 “take that Protestation, they should thereby engage
 “themselves for the Defence of Bishops, which
 “in their Conscience they could not do; and
 “which, they hoped, the House did not intend
 “to oblige them to;” Whereupon, without any
 great opposition (the House being thin; and They
 who were of another opinion, believing this Artifice
 would, to all sober men, appear very Ridiculous)
 this ensuing Order was made.

The Explana-
 tion of the
 Protestation,
 by an Order
 of the House
 of Commons.

“Whereas some Doubts have been raised, by
 “several Persons out of this House, concerning
 “the Meaning of these words contained in the
 “Protestation lately made by the Members of
 “this House [*viz.* The true Reformed Protestant
 “Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church
 “of *England*, against all Popery and Popish Inno-
 “vations within this Realm, contrary to the
 “same Doctrine] This House doth declare, That
 “by those words, was and is meant, only the
 “Public Doctrine professed in the said Church,
 “so far as It is opposite to Popery and Popish
 “Innovations; and that the said words are not
 “to be extended to the maintaining of any Form
 “of Worship, Discipline, or Government, nor
 “of any Rites, or Ceremonies, of the said Church
 “of *England*.”

This Explanation being thus procured in the

House of Commons, without ever advising with the House of Peers (who had likewise taken the same Protestation) and, in truth, so contrary to the intentions of Most that took it; They ordered, "that the Protestation, together with this Explanation, should be Printed and Published; and that the Knights and Burgesses should send Copies thereof to the Counties and Boroughs for which they served; and that they should intimate unto the People, with what Willingness all the Members of that House made that Protestation; and that they should further signify, that as They did Justify the taking it Themselves, so they could not but Approve it in All such as should take it." Upon which Declaration, the Emissaries of their Clergy caused the same to be taken in *London*, and the Parts adjacent, within very few days after the Publishing. And for Their better Encouragement (though their Zeal would not attend such Formalities) a Bill was prepared, passed the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords, "to Compel all the Subjects to take that Protestation." What the Success of that Bill was; and what Use was afterwards made of this Protestation (which was Then thought so Harmless a thing) and particularly, what Influence it had upon the business of the Earl of *Strafford*, shall be remembered in its proper place.

The other Accident that fell out during the time that the business of the Earl of *Strafford* was agitated, and by which He received much Prejudice, was

B O O K
III.

A Bill passed there, to Compel all the Subjects to take it.

The other Accident, that contributed towards

B O O K

III.

the Bill of At-
tainer, was
the Death of
the Earl of
Bedford.

the Death of the Earl of *Bedford*. This Lord was the greatest Person of Interest in all the Popular Party, being of the best Estate, and best Understanding, of the whole Number; and therefore most like to Govern the Rest. He was besides, of great Civility, and of much more Good Nature than any of the Other. And therefore the King resolving to do his business with that Party by Him, resolved to make him Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, in the place of the Bishop of *London*; who was as willing to lay down the Office, as any body was to take it up. And to gratify him the more, at His desire, intended to make Mr. *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer, as he had done Mr. *Saint-John* his Solicitor General (all which hath been touched before) as also, that Mr. *Hollis* was to be Secretary of State, the Lord *Say* Master of the Wards, and the Lord *Kimbolton* to be Lord Privy-Seal after the death of his Father, who then held that place. Others were to be placed about the Prince, and to have Offices when they fell.

The Earl of *Bedford* secretly undertook to his Majesty, that the Earl of *Strafford's* Life should be preserved; and to procure His Revenue to be settled, as amply as any of his Progenitors; the which he intended so really, that, to My knowledge, he had it in design to endeavour to obtain an Act for the setting up the Excise in *England*, as the only natural means to advance the King's profit. He fell Sick, within a week after the Bill of Attainder was sent up to the Lords House; and Died shortly after, much afflicted with the Passion and Fury which he perceived his Party inclined to: in so much as he

declared, to some of near trust to him, "that He
 "feared, the Rage and Madneſs of this Parliament,
 "would bring more Prejudice and Miſchief to
 "the Kingdom than it had ever ſuſtained by the
 "long Intermiſſion of Parliaments." He was a
 wiſe man, and would have propoſed and adviſed
 Moderate courſes; but was not incapable, for want
 of Reſolution, of being carried into Violent ones,
 if His Advice were not ſubmitted too: and there-
 fore Many, who knew him well, thought his
 Death not unſeaſonable, as well to his Fame, as
 his Fortune; and that it reſcued him as well from
 ſome poſſible Guilt, as from thoſe viſible Miſ-
 fortunes, which men of all Conditions have Since
 undergone.

As ſoon as the Earl of *Bedford* was dead, the
 Lord *Say* (hoping to receive the reward of the
 Treasuſerſhip) ſucceeded him in his undertaking,
 and faithfully promiſed the King, "that he ſhould
 "not be preſſed in the matter of the Earl of
 "*Strafford's* Life:" and under that promiſe got credit
 enough, to perſuade his Maſteſty to whatſoever
 He ſaid was neceſſary to that buſineſs. And there-
 upon, when the Bill was depending with the
 Lords, and when there was little ſuſpicion that it
 would Paſs, though the Houſe of Commons every
 day by Meſſages endeavoured to quicken them,
 He perſuaded the King "to go to the Houſe of
 "Peers, and according to cuſtom to ſend for the
 "Houſe of Commons, and then to declare him-
 "ſelf, That He could not, with the ſafety of a
 "good Conſcience, ever give his Conſent to the

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“ Bill that was there depending before them concerning the Earl of *Strafford*, if it should be brought to him, because he was not satisfied in the point of Treason: But He was so fully Satisfied that the Earl was Unfit ever to serve Him more, in any condition of Employment, that He would join with Them in any Act, to make him utterly Incapable of ever bearing Office, or having any other Employment in any of his Majesty's Dominions; which he hoped would Satisfy them.”

This Advice, upon the Confidence of the giver, the King resolved to follow: But when his Resolution was imparted to the Earl, He immediately sent his brother to him, beseeching his Majesty “ by no means to take that way, for that he was most assured it would prove very Pernicious to him; and therefore desired, he might depend upon the Honor and Conscience of the Peers, without his Majesty's interposition.” The King told his Brother, “ that he had taken that Resolution by the Advice of his Best Friends; but since he liked it not, he would decline it.” The next Morning the Lord *Say* came again to him, and finding his Majesty altered in his Intention, told him, “ If he took that course He advised him, he was sure it would prevail; but if he declined it, He could not promise his Majesty what would be the issue, and should hold himself absolutely disengaged from any undertaking.” The King observing his Positiveness, and conceiving his Intentions to be very Sincere, suffered himself to be guided by him; and went immediately to the House, and said as the other

had advised. Whether that Lord did in truth believe the discovery of his Majesty's Conscience in that manner, would produce the Effect he foretold, or whether he advised it Treacherously, to bring on those Inconveniencies which afterwards happened; I know not: But Many who believed his Will to be much Worse than his Understanding, had the Uncharitableness to think, that he intended to Betray his Master, and to put the Ruin of the Earl out of question.

The Event proved very Fatal; for the King no sooner returned from the House, than the House of Commons, in great Passion and Fury, declared this last act of his Majesty's, to be "the most unparalleled Breach of Privilege, that had ever happened; That if his Majesty might take notice what Bills were passing in either House, and declare his Own opinion, it was to forejudge Their Counsels, and they should not be able to supply the Commonwealth with wholesome Laws, suitable to the Diseases it labored under; That this was the greatest Obstruction of Justice, that could be imagined; That They and Whosoever had taken the late Protestation, were bound to maintain the Privileges of Parliament, which were now too grossly Invaded and Violated:" with many Sharp Discourses to that purpose.

The next day, great multitudes of People came down to *Westminster*, and crowded about the House of Peers, exclaiming with great Outcries, "that they would have Justice;" and publicly reading the Names of those who had dissented from that Bill in the

Tumults
about the
House of
Peers.

B O O K House of Commons, as Enemies to their Country ;
 III. and as any Lord passed by, called, *Justice, Justice*; and with great Rudeness and Insolence, pressing upon, and thrusting, those Lords whom they suspected not to favor that Bill ; professing aloud, “ That they “ would be governed and disposed by the Honor- “ able House of Commons, and would defend “ Their Privileges according to their late Protec- “ tion.” These unheard of acts of Insolence and Sedition continued so many days , till many Lords grew so really apprehensive of having their Brains beaten out , that they absented themselves from the House ; and Others, finding what Seconds the House of Commons was like to have to compass whatever they desired, changed their minds ; and so in an Afternoon , when of the Houscore who had been present at the Trial, there were only Six-and-Forty Lords in the House (the good People still crying at the doors for Justice) they put the Bill to the question, and Eleven Lords only dissenting, it Passed that House, and was ready for the King’s assent.

The Bill of
 Attainder
 Passed the
 House of
 Lords.

Tumults
 about White-
 Hall.

The King continued as Resolved as ever, Not to give his consent. The same Oratory then attended Him at *White-Hall*, which had prevailed at *Westminster* ; and a Rabble of many Thousand people besieged that place, crying out, *Justice, Justice ; that they would have Justice* ; not without great and insolent Threats and Expressions, what they would do, if it were not speedily granted. The Privy-Council was called together , to advise what course was to be taken to Suppress these Traite-rous Riots. Instead of considering how to Rescue

their Master's Honor and his Conscience from this B O O K
 Infamous Violence and Constraint, They press the III.
 King to Pass the Bill of Attainder, saying, "there The Privy-
 " was no other way to preserve Himself and his Council and
 " Posterity than by so doing; and therefore that he some of the
 " ought to be more tender of the safety of the King: Bishops advise
 " dom, than of any One Person how Innocent the King to
 " soever:" not one Counsellor interposing his Pass the Bill.
 opinion, to support his Master's Magnanimity and
 Innocence: They who were of that mind, either
 Suppressing their Thoughts through Fear, upon the
 new Doctrine established then by the new Counsel-
 lors, "that no man ought to presume to advise any
 " thing in That place contrary to the sense of Both
 " Houses;" Others sadly believing, the Force and
 Violence offered to the King, would be, before God
 and Man, a Just Excuse for whatsoever he should do.

His Majesty told them, "That what had been
 " proposed to him to do, was directly contrary to
 " his Conscience, and that being so, he was sure
 " they would not persuade him to it, though Them-
 " selves were never so well satisfied." To that point,
 they desired him "to confer with his Bishops, who,
 " they made no question, would better inform his
 " Conscience." The Arch-Bishop of *York* was at
 hand; who, to his Argument of Conscience, told
 him, "That there was a Private and Public Con-
 " science; that his Public Conscience as a King,
 " might not only dispense with, but oblige him to
 " do that which was against his Private Conscience
 " as a Man: and that the Question was not,
 " Whether He should Save the Earl of *Strafford*; but,

B O O K “ Whether he should Perish with him: That the
 III. “ Conscience of a King to preserve his Kingdom,
 “ the Conscience of a Husband to preserve his Wife,
 “ the Conscience of a Father to preserve his Children
 “ (all which were now in danger) weighed down
 “ abundantly all the considerations the Conscience
 “ of a Master or a Friend could suggest to him, for
 “ the preservation of a Friend, or Servant.” And by
 such Unprelatical, Ignominious Arguments, in plain
 terms advised him, “ even for Conscience sake, to
 “ Pass that Act.”

Though this Bishop acted His part with more prodigious Boldness and Impiety, Others of the same Function (for whose Learning and Sincerity the King and the World had greater reverence) did not what might have been expected from their Calling or their Trust; but at least forbore to Fortify and Confirm a Conscience, upon the Courage and Piety of which, the Security of Their Persons and their Order, did absolutely, under God, depend.

During these Perplexities, the Earl of *Strafford*, taking notice of the Straits the King was in, the Rage of the People still increasing (from whence he might expect a certain Outrage and Ruin, how constant soever the King continued to him; and it may be, knowing of an Undertaking (for such an Undertaking there was) by a great Person, who had then a Command in the Tower, “ that if the King refused
 “ to Pass the Bill, to free the Kingdom from the
 “ hazard it seemed to be in, He would cause his
 “ Head to be stricken off in the Tower)” writ
 a most pathetic Letter to the King, full of

The Earl of
Strafford
 himself
 writes to his

acknowledgment of his Favors; but lively representing “the Dangers, which threatened Himself
 “and his Posterity, by the King’s persevering in
 “those Favors;” and therefore by many Arguments
 conjuring him “no longer to defer his Assent to the
 “Bill, that so his Death might free the Kingdom
 “from the many Troubles it apprehended.”

The delivery of this Letter being quickly known, new Arguments were applied; “that this free consent of his Own, clearly absolved the King from
 “any scruple that could remain with him;” and so in the end they extorted from him, to sign a Commission to some Lords to Pass the Bill: which was as valid as if He had passed it himself; though they comforted him even with That circumstance, “that
 “His Own hand was not in it.”

B O O K

III.

Majesty to
Pass it.The King
signs a Com-
mission for the
Passing it.

It may easily be said, that the Freedom of the Parliament, and His own Negative voice, being thus Barbarously invaded, if his Majesty had, instead of Passing that Act, come to the House and Dissolved the Parliament; or if he had withdrawn himself from that Seditious City, and put himself in the head of his Own Army; much of the Mischief, which hath Since happened, would have been prevented. But who-ever truly considers the state of Affairs at that time; the Prevalency of that Faction in Both Houses; the Rage and Fury of the People; the Use that was made by the Schismatical Preachers (by whom the Orthodox were generally silenced) of the late Protestation, in their Pulpits; the Fears and Jealousies They had infused into the Minds of many sober men, upon the discourse of the

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late Plot; the Constitution of the Council Table, that there was scarce an Honest man durst speak his Conscience to the King, for fear of his Ruin; and that Those whom he thought most True to him, Betrayed him every hour, insomuch as his Whispers in his Bed-chamber were instantly conveyed to Those against whom those Whispers were; so that he had very Few men to who mhe could breathe his Conscience and Complaints, that were not Suborned against him, or Averse to his Opinions: That on the other side, if some Expedient were not speedily found out; to Allay that Frantic Rage and Combination in the People, there was reason enough to believe, their Impious hands would be lifted up against his own Person, and (which He much more apprehended) against the Person of his Royal Consort: and lastly, that (besides the difficulty of getting thither) he had no ground to be very confident of his Own Army: I say, Whoever sadly Contemplates this, will find cause to confess, the Part which the King had to act, was not only harder than any Prince, but than any Private Gentleman had been exposed to; and that it is much easier, upon the Accidents and Occurrences which have Since happened, to determine what was Not to have been done, than at That time to have Foreseen, by what means to have Freed himself from the Labyrinth in which he was involved.

The Earl be-
headed, May
the 12th 1641.

All things being thus transacted, to conclude the Fate of this great Person, He was on the Twelfth day of May brought from the Tower of

London (where he had been a Prisoner near six Months) to the Scaffold on Tower Hill; where, with a composed, undaunted Courage, he told the People, "He was come thither to Satisfy them with his Head; but that he much feared, the Reformation which was begun in Blood, would not prove so Fortunate to the Kingdom, as They expected, and He wished:" and after great expressions "of his Devotion to the Church of *England*, and the Protestant Religion established by Law, and professed in that Church; of his Loyalty to the King, and Affection to the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom;" with marvellous Tranquillity of mind, he delivered his Head to the Block, where it was severed from his Body at a Blow. Many of the Standards by, who had not been over-charitable to him in his Life, being much affected with the Courage and Christianity of his Death.

Thus Fell the Greatest Subject in Power, and little inferior to any in Fortune, that was at that time in any of the Three Kingdoms; Who could well remember the time, when He led those People, who then Pursued Him to his Grave. He was a man of great Parts, and extraordinary Endowments of Nature; not unadorned with some addition of Art and Learning, though that again was more improved and illustrated by the other; for he had a readiness of Conception, and sharpness of Expression, which made his Learning thought more than in truth it was. His first inclinations and addresses to the Court, were only to establish his Greatness in the Country; where he apprehended some acts of Power from

B O O K the Lord *Savile*, who had been his Rival always
 III. There, and of late had strengthened himself by being made a Privy-Counsellor, and Officer at Court: but his first attempts were so prosperous, that He contented not himself with being secure from that Lord's power in the Country, but rested not, till he had bereaved his adversary of all power and place in Court; and so sent him down, a most Abject, Disconsolate old man, to his Country, where He was to have the Superintendency over him too, by getting himself at that time made Lord President of the North. These Successes, applied to a nature too Elate and Haughty of itself, and a quicker progress into the greatest Employments and Trust, made him more transported with Disdain of other men, and more Contemning the Forms of business, than happily he would have been, if he had met with some Interruptions in the beginning, and had passed in a more leisurely gradation to the Office of a Statesman.

He was, no doubt, of great observation, and a piercing judgment, both in Things, and Persons; but his too good skill in Persons, made him judge the worse of Things: for it was his Misfortune, to be in a time wherein very few Wise men were equally employed with him; and scarce any (but the Lord *Coventry*, whose Trust was more confined) whose Faculties and Abilities were equal to His: So that upon the matter he relied wholly upon Himself; and discerning many Defects in most men, he too much neglected what they said or did. Of all his Passions, his Pride was most predominant; which

a moderate exercise of ill Fortune might have corrected and reformed; and which was by the hand of Heaven strangely Punished, by bringing his Destruction upon him by Two things that he most despised, the People, and Sir *Henry Vane*. In a word, the Epitaph which *Plutarch* records that *Sylla* wrote for himself, may not be unfitly applied to him, "That no man did ever exceed him, either in doing Good to his Friends, or in doing Mischief to his Enemies;" for his acts of both kinds were most notorious.

Together with that of Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford*, another Bill was Passed by the King, of almost as Fatal a Consequence both to the King and Kingdom, as that was to the Earl, "the Act for the Perpetual Parliament;" as it is since called.

The vast Charge of the two Armies, was no other way supplied (for I have told you before the reason why they were so slow in granting of Subsidies) than by borrowing great Sums of Money from the City or Citizens of *London*, upon the Credit of Particular Persons. The Emissaries in that Negotiation, about the time the Act of Attainder passed the Commons, returned, "That there was no more hope of Borrowing in the City; that men had before cheerfully lent their Estates, upon their confidence in the Honor and Justice of the two Houses; but they had Now considered, how desperate that Security must prove, if the two Houses should be Dissolved." Which consideration, begun to have an universal Influence upon all Those who were Personally Bound

BOOK
III
At the same time with the Bill of Attainder passed the Act for the continuing this Parliament. The Arts by which that Act was obtained.

B O O K
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for Moneys already borrowed; “for that Their
“ Persons and Fortunes must answer those Sums
“ which had been paid for the Public benefit, if
“ the Parliament should be Dissolved before any
“ Act passed for their Security. That their Fears
“ and Apprehensions that this might happen, were
“ much advanced by the late discovery of the
“ Plot against the Parliament; for though the par-
“ ticulars thereof were not yet published, they
“ discerned there was not that good meaning to
“ the Parliament, as it deserved.” This was no
sooner offered, than the Reasonableness of the
Objection was enforced; and the Necessity of find-
ing some Expedient “to Satisfy the people of the
“ gracious Intention and Resolutions of the King;”
which were most unquestionable (for in all those
articles of time, when they were to demand some
unreasonable thing from him, they spared no duti-
ful mention of the Piety and Goodness of his own
Princely nature; or large promises what demonstra-
tions of Duty they would shortly make to him)
No way could be thought of so sure, as an Act
of Parliament, “that This Parliament should not
“ be Adjourned, Prorogued, or Dissolved, but
“ by Act of Parliament; which, upon this occasion,
“ his Majesty would never deny to Pass.”

It is not credible, what an universal reception
and concurrence this Motion met with (which
was to remove the Landmarks, and to destroy the
Foundation of the Kingdom) insomuch, as a Com-
mittee was immediately appointed to withdraw,
and to prepare a short Bill to that purpose; which

was within a short time (less than an Hour) brought into the House, and immediately Twice read, and Committed; an expedition scarce ever heard of before in Parliament; and the next day, with as little agitation, and the contradiction of very few voices, Ingrossed, and carried up to the Lords: with Them it had some Debate, and Amendments, which were delivered at a Conference, the principal whereof was, "That the time should be limited" and not left indefinite, and that it should not "be Dissolved within two years, except by consent of Both Houses;" that time being sufficient to provide against any accidents that were then apprehended.

These Alterations were highly resented in the House of Commons, as argument of Jealousy between the King and the Parliament, "that it should" be imaginable the Members of both Houses, "who resided from their houses and conveniencies" at great charge for the service of the Public, "would desire to continue longer together than" the necessity of that Service should require;" without considering, that it was more unlikely that the King (who had condescended so far to them, and had yet in truth received no fruit from their meeting) would Dissolve them, as long as they intended that for which they were Summoned together, and contained themselves within the bounds of Duty and Moderation.

But the Commons stoutly insisted on their own Bill; and the Lords, in that hurry of Noise and Confusion, when the meetings of the People were

B O O K so frequent, kindly Consented likewise to it: and so;
III. by the importunity, and upon the undertaking of
persons he then most trusted, in the agony of the
other despatch, the King was induced to include
that Bill in the Commission with the Act of Attain-
der, and they were Both Passed together.

After the Passing these two Bills, the temper and
spirit of the People, both within and without the
walls of the two Houses, grew marvellous calm and
composed; there being likewise about that time
Passed by the King, the two Bills, for the taking
away the Star-Chamber-Court, and the High-Com-
mission: So that there was not a Grievance or Incon-
venience, Real or Imaginary, to which there was
not a thorough Remedy applied; and therefore all
men expected, that both Armies would be speedily
Disbanded; and such returns of Duty and Acknow-
ledgment be made to the King, as might be agree-
able to Their professions, and to the Royal Favors
he had vouchsafed to his People.

But what provisions soever were made for the
Public, Particular persons had received no satisfac-
tion. The Death of the Earl of *Bedford*, and the
high Proceedings in all those cases in which the King
was most concerned, left all Those who expected
Offices and Preferments, desperate in their hopes:
And yet an Accident happened, that might have
been looked upon as an Earnest or Instance of some
encouragement that way.

Besides the Lord *Say's* being invested in the
Mastership of the Wards, in the place of the Lord
Cottington (who was every day threatened, upon the

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Secretary's Paper of Results, to be accused of High-Treason, till, like a Wise man, he retired from the Offices which begot his trouble; and for a long time after, till he again embarked himself in Public Employments, enjoyed himself without the least disturbance) At a Committee in the House of Lords, in the Afternoon, in some Debate, Passion arose between the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was then Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and the Lord *Mowbray*, eldest Son of the Earl of *Arundel*; and from angry and disdainful Words, an offer or attempt of Blows was made; for which misdemeanour, they were the next day Both sent to the Tower by the House of Lords. The King taking advantage of this miscarriage; and having been long incensed, by the Passionate, Indiscrete, and Insolent carriage of the Earl, sent to him, by a Gentleman Usher, for his Staff; and within two or three days after, bestowed it upon the Earl of *Essex*: who, without any hesitation, took it.

The King takes the Staff of Lord Chamberlain from the Earl of *Pembroke*, and gives it to the Earl of *Essex*.

It was thought this extraordinary grace to the most Popular person of the Kingdom, would have a notable Influence upon the whole Party, which made Him believe it depended very much on him: But it was so far from having That effect, as they looked upon that favor, rather as a mark of Punishment and Revenge upon the Earl of *Pembroke*, for his affection to Them, and for giving his Suffrage against the Earl of *Strafford* (which he had often professed to the King he could never in Conscience do) than of Esteem and Kindness to the Earl of *Essex*; and so they were in truth more offended and incensed with the Disgrace

B O O K and Disobligation to the One, than they were pleased
 III. with the Preferment of the Other: therefore whatever concerned the King in Right; or what he might naturally expect from the compliance and affection of the House; or what was any way recommended by his Majesty to them, found little or no Respect.

The truth of
 the case of
 Tonnage and
 Poundage.

His Revenue was so far from being advanced (as had been gloriously promised) that it was, both in dignity and value, much lessened from what it was: For shortly after the beginning of the Parliament, great Complaint had been made, "that Tonnage and Poundage" (which is the Duty and Subsidy paid by the Merchant upon Trade) "had been taken by the King without consent of Parliament;" the case whereof in truth is this: This Duty had been constantly given to the Succeeding King, ever since the Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth, for his Life, in the First Parliament they held after their coming to the Crown: Before that time, it had been granted for Years; and was originally intended for the support of the Navy, whereby the Merchant might be freed from danger of Pirates; and upon the death of every King since that time, his Successor commonly received it, without the least interruption, till the next Parliament; in the beginning whereof it was always without scruple granted: So that, though it was, and must always be acknowledged as the free gift of the People (as all other Subsidies are) yet it was looked upon as so Essential a part of the Revenue of the Crown, that it could not be without it: and as the King

is not less King Before his Coronation than he is After, so this Duty had been still enjoyed as freely Before, as it was After an Act of Parliament to that purpose; neither had there been ever any Exception taken in Parliament (which sometimes was not in a Year after the death of the former King) that the Crown had continued the receipt of it; which it did, till the time of a new Grant.

Thus, after the death of King *James*, his Majesty received it, till the First Parliament was Summoned; and, That and Two more being unfortunately Dissolved (as was said before) in which his Ministers were not solicitous enough for the passing that Act for Tonnage and Poundage, continued the receipt of it till this present Parliament: Then (that is, many weeks after the beginning of it) it was directed, “that a Bill should be speedily prepared for the granting it, as had been usual, lest the Crown might, by so long enjoying, in a manner prescribe to it of Right, without the donation of the People;” which the King always disclaimed to do. Shortly after (no man presuming to intimate, that it should be granted in any other manner than of course it had been) it was alledged, “that the Bill could not be so speedily prepared as were to be wished, by reason that there were many just Exceptions made by the Merchants to the Book of Rates, which had been lately made by the Farmers of the Customs, in the time and by the direction of the Earl of *Portland*” (Circumstances that carried Prejudice enough to whatsoever they were applied) and therefore it was proposed, for

B O O K the present, as the best expedient to continue his
 III. Majesty's Supply, and to preserve the Right of giving in the People, "that a Temporary Bill should
 " pass, for the granting the same to his Majesty for
 " two Months only, in which time a new Book
 " of Rates should be made. more advantageous to
 " his Majesty in point of profit" (which was always professed) "and then a Complete Act might pass."

To this purpose a Bill was accordingly brought in, the Preamble whereof "renounced and declared
 " against not only any power in the Crown of
 " levying the Duty of Tonnage and Poundage,
 " without the express consent of Parliament, but
 " also any power of Imposition upon any Merchan-
 " dizes whatsoever, and in any case whatsoever;" which had been constantly practised in the best times by the Crown; had the countenance of a solemn Judgment in the Exchequer Chamber; and though often agitated in Parliament, had never been Yet declared against: Yet it his quietly passed Both Houses, as a thing not worth considering. And so in expectation and confidence, that they would make glorious Additions to the State and Revenue of the Crown, his Majesty suffered himself to be Stripped of All that he had left; and of the sole stock of Credit he had to Borrow Moneys upon: for though in truth, men knew That Revenue was not Legally vested in the King till an Act of Parliament, yet all men looked upon it as unquestionable to Pass; and so it was not only a competent proportion for the present support of his House, but was understood a good Security for any ordinary Sum of Money

upon advance, as Forty or Fifty thousand pound, B O O K
upon any emergent occasion.

III.

All good men discerned this gross usage, and the disadvantage imposed upon his Majesty by this mutation; and therefore expected a full Reparation, by such an Act for Life as had been usual; and such an Improvement of the Book of Rates as had been promised, as soon as the business of the Earl of *Strafford* was over: which had been always objected, as necessary to precede all other consultations. But This was no sooner moved, “as Seasonable in
“ order to Their Own professions, and in a degree
“ Due to the King, after so many reiterated expressions of Favor and Affection to his People, by
“ so many excellent Laws, and other Condescensions”, than They objected, “the Odiousness of the
“ late Plot against the Parliament, which was not
“ yet fully discovered: That notwithstanding those
“ gracious demonstrations of Favor from the King,
“ in the Laws and other Acts mentioned, They
“ had great cause to apprehend, some ill affected
“ Persons had still an Influence upon his Majesty,
“ to the Disservice of the Parliament, and to beget
“ Jealousies in Him towards them; for that they had
“ plainly discovered (which they should in a short
“ time be able to present fully to the House) that
“ there had been a Design, not only to Poison the
“ Affections of the Army towards the Parliament,
“ by making them believe that They were neglected,
“ and the *Scots* preferred much before them; but
“ to bring up that Army to *London*, with a purpose to Awe the Parliament: That there was a

The mention
of the former
Plot between
the Court and
the Army revived in the
House of
Commons.

B O O K

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“ resolution to Seize the Tower, and to make it a
 “ Curb upon the City: That there had been an
 “ attempt to prevail with the Officers of the *Scottish*
 “ Army, at least to Sit still as Neuters, whilst the
 “ Others acted this Tragedy: That the Confederates
 “ in this design had taken an Oath, to Oppose any
 “ course that should be advised for the Removing
 “ the Bishops out of the House of Peers; to Preserve
 “ and Defend the King’s Prerogative, to the utmost
 “ extent that any of his Progenitors had enjoyed;
 “ and to Settle his Majesty’s Revenue: That They
 “ had reason to fear, his Majesty’s own Concur-
 “ rence; at least his Approbation, in this design
 “ (which, if not prevented, must have proved so
 “ Pernicious and Fatal to the Kingdom) for that,
 “ besides that the Persons principally engaged in
 “ it, were of the nearest Trust about the King and
 “ Queen, They had clear Proof, that a Paper had
 “ passed his Majesty’s perusal, in which were con-
 “ tained, many sharp Invectives against the Parlia-
 “ ment; a desire that they might have the exercise
 “ of Martial Law (the mention whereof, was the
 “ most Unpopular and Odious thing that could be
 “ imagined) and an offer of Service to Defend his
 “ Majesty’s person, which was an implication as if
 “ it had been in Danger: and that this Paper should
 “ have been Signed by All the Officers of the Army;
 “ for the better encouragement wherein, the King
 “ himself had written a *G.* and an *R.* as a testimony
 “ that He approved of it.”

This Discourse, so Methodically and Confidently
 averred, made a strange Impression (without reserv-

ing themselves till the Evidence should be produced) in the minds of most men; who believed, that such Particulars could never have been with that Solemnity informed, if the Proofs were not very clear; and served, not only to Blast whatsoever was moved on his Majesty's behalf, but to Discountenance, what, till then, had been the most Popular motion that could be made, which was, the Disbanding both Armies, and the *Scots* return into their own Country. For the better accomplishment whereof, and as a testimony of their Brotherly affections, the two Houses had frankly and bountifully undertaken, "to give them a Gratuity of three hundred thousand pounds, over and above the twenty-five thousand pounds the Month, during the time that their stay here should be necessary."

B O O K
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300000l.
voted to the
Scots for a
Gratuity, be-
sides their
Monthly al-
lowance.

After that Act, the King might have been reasonably awaked from any extraordinary confidence in the Loyalty, Honor, or Justice, of Both Houses. And without doubt, when Posterity shall recover the Courage, and Conscience, and the old Honor of the *English* Nation, it will not with more Indignation and Blushes contemplate any action of this Seditious and Rebellious age, than that the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, who were not guilty of the Treason, should recompense an Invasion from a Foreign Nation, with whatever Establishments They proposed in their own Kingdom, and with a Donative of Three Hundred Thousand pounds, over and above all Charges, out of the bowels of *England*; which will yet appear the more prodigious, when it shall be considered, that not a Fifth

B O O K part of those who were Accessaries to that Infamous
 111. Prodigality, were either Favorers of their Ends, or great Well-wishers to their Nation.

But very Many gave themselves leave, Unfaithfully, to be Absent from those Debates, when the Wealth and Honor of their Country was to be transplanted into a strange Land; Others looked upon it as a good Purchase, to be Freed of the payment of Fourscore Thousand pounds the Month (which was the charge of Both Armies) by an entire Sum of Three Hundred Thousand pounds; and Some pleased themselves with an assurance, that the Scandal, and Unreasonableness of the Sum, would provoke the People to a Hatred and Revenge, and so that the Brotherhood would not be Supported, but Destroyed, by that extravagant Bounty: Yet these were only short Ejaculations to please themselves for the time; for many of those, who had no other reason to consent to that vast Sum, but that they might be rid of them, were so inflamed and transported with the Tale of the Plot, that they had Then no mind to let them go; and had so far swallowed and digested an assurance that it was True, that they reserved no Distinguishing or Judging faculties, for the time when the Evidence and Proof should be presented to them.

After they had played with this Plot, and given the House heats and colds, by applying Parts of it to them upon emergent occasions, for the space of near three Months; and finding, that though it did them many notable Services, in advancing Their Own Reputations, and Calumniating the

King's Honor, yet, that it had not a thorough Effect at Court for their Preferment; they resolved to show all their Ware, and to produce the Whole Evidence: for the perfecting whereof, they had "a late mark of God's great favor towards them, "in his furnishing them with Evidence for the "complete Discovery of the whole Mischief, from "one that was a principal Contriver of it."

B O O K

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We said before, that upon the first motion in the House of Commons, by Mr. *Pym*, "for a Committee of Examination, and for an Address to the King, that he would grant no Passes to any of his Servants to go beyond Seas," some Persons, of near relation to his Trust, immediately absented themselves; which were Mr. *Piercy*, and Mr. *Jermyn*: now the latter of these, without interruption, transported himself into *France*; but Mr. *Piercy*, delaying his journey upon some occasions of his own, and concealing himself in some obscure places in *Suffex*, near to his Brother's House, was at last discovered; and when he endeavoured to have escaped, was set upon by the Country. people, and with great difficulty, and not without some hurt, got from them, and was not in some Months again heard of.

It was generally believed afterwards, that finding the Sea-Ports shut, and Watches set for his apprehension in all those places, whereby the Transporting himself into Foreign Parts was very difficult, he found means to return to *London*, and to put himself into his Brother's Protection; where it is thought he was harboured, till his hurt was cured; the strictness of the inquiry over; and, till he had

B O O K prepared that Letter to his Brother, the Earl of
 III. *Northumberland*, which served, as far as in Him
 lay, to destroy all his Companions, and furnished
 the Committee with that which They called “a
 “DoubleEvidence:” for They had no sooner received
 that Letter from the Earl of *Northumberland*, than
 they told the House, “They were now Ready for
 “a complete Discovery;” and thereupon, produced
 the Evidence of Colonel *Goring*, and the Letter
 from Mr. *Piercy*; both which agreed upon the re-
 lation, “of a meeting at Mr. *Piercy*’s Chamber;
 “and of a discourse of the Parliament’s Neglect of
 “the King’s, and Favoring the *Scottish* Army; the
 “taking an Oath of Secrecy; and some other par-
 “ticulars:” all which had been positively Denied,
 by those of them that were Members of the House
 of Commons, Mr. *Wilmot*, Mr. *Ashburnham*, and
 Mr. *Pollard*, upon their Examinations upon Oath.

It will hardly be believed hereafter (but that the
 Effects of such Impostures have left such deep Marks)
 that the Evidence Then given, could, in so Grave
 and Judging an Assembly, as a High-Court of Par-
 liament, till then, had always been, have brought
 the least Prejudice upon the King; or indeed,
 Damage to any person accused: there being, in
 all the Testimonies produced, so little show of
 Proof, of a Real Design, or Plot, to bring up the
 Army (which was the chief matter alledged) to
 Awe the Parliament, that in truth it was very
 evident, there was No Plot at all; Only a free Com-
 munication between persons (the major part whereof
 were of the House) “of the ill Arts that were

“generally used to Corrupt the Affections of the
 “People; and of some Expedient, whereby, in
 “that so public Infection, the Army” (in which they
 had all considerable Command, two of them being
 General Officers) “might be preserved from being
 “wrought upon and corrupted:” in which discourse,
 Colonel *Goring* himself, as appeared by his own
 Examination, only proposed wild and extravagant
 overtures, “of bringing up the Army, and surprizing
 “the Tower; which was, by all the rest, with
 “manifest dislike, rejected: That all this had passed
 “at one meeting, in which, They who met were
 “so ill satisfied in one another, that they never
 “would come together again: That, when the
 “bringing up the Army to *London* was once talked
 “of before the King, his Majesty would not hear
 “of it, but only desired, that their Affections might
 “be kept entire for his Service, as far as was
 “consistent with the Laws of the Land, which
 “were in danger to be invaded.”

Yet, notwithstanding that all this appeared; and
 that this was all that did appear (besides a Discourse
 of a Petition; for the Petition itself they would
 not produce, signed with C. R. which is before
 set down in terms) the Specious, Positive Narration
 of the whole, by Mr. *Pym*, before the Evidence
 was read; the Denying what was Now proved,
 and confessed by themselves, by Mr. *Wilmot*,
Ashburnham, and *Pollard*, upon the Former Exa-
 mination; the Flight of Mr. *Jermyn*, and Mr.
Piercy, and some others; the mention of some
 clauses in the Petition signed with C. R.; and some

B O O K envious, dark glances, both in Mr. *Goring's* Examination, and Mr. *Piercy's* Letter, at the King and Queen, as if They knew more than was expressed, so transported the Hearers (who made themselves Judges too) that taking all that was Said, to be Proved, they quickly voted, "That there was a design to bring up the Army to Force the Parliament;" resolved to accuse Mr. *Jermyn* and Mr. *Piercy*, of High-Treason; committed the Three Members of the House of Commons to several Prisons, and put them from being Members, that in their rooms they might bring in Three more fit for their Service, as they shortly did; gave Colonel *Goring* Public Thanks, "for Preserving the Kingdom, and the Liberties of Parliament;" and filled the People with Jealousy for their Security, and with universal Acclamations of Their great Wisdom and Vigilancy. So that this Plot served to produce their First Protestation; to inflame the People against the Earl of *Strafford*, and in a degree to compass Their Ends upon that great Person, as hath been before observed; to procure the Bill for the Continuance of This Parliament, the Foundation, or the Fountain, of all the Public Calamities, to hinder and cross all overtures made for the Revenue of the King, and to lessen the general Reverence and Duty to Both their Majesties; to continue the *Scottish* Army withing the Kingdom, and consequently, to hinder the King's from being Disbanded; to incense both Houses against the Bishops, as if the design had been principally for Their protection (there being one Witness who
said,

faid, "he had been told, that the Clergy would Raise
 " and Pay one thousand Horfe, to be employed
 " against the Parliament)" to blaſt the reputation
 of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, whoſe zeal to his Ma-
 jeſty's Service was moſt remarkable, as if He had
 been to have Commanded the Army; and laſtly,
 to advance Their own Credit and Eſtimation with
 the People, as if They were the only Patriots,
 that intended the Preſervation of Religion, Law,
 and Liberty.

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And having made this uſe of it (which is a ſuffi-
 cient argument what opinion they had of Their
 own Evidence) They never Proceeded againſt any
 of the Perſons who were in their power, though
 they patiently attended and importuned a Trial
 above a year after their Accuſation: for They well
 knew, there muſt be Then a more Exact and Strict
 weighing of the Proofs; and that the Perſons Ac-
 cuſed, would not only Vindicate Themſelves from
 the aſperſions which were laid upon them, but could
 Recriminate upon the principal Proſecutors with
 ſuch charges, as they would not ſo eaſily be freed
 from; and this was the reaſon, that, even during
 the heat and noiſe of the Accuſation, They received
 very civil offices, viſits, and addreſſes, from the Chief
 of Thoſe who were truſted with the Proſecution.

The ſending that Letter of Mr. *Piercy's* to the
 Houſe of Commons; or rather, the procuring that
 Letter to be writ (in which, ſuch Inſinuations were
 made, to the Prejudice of the King and Queen),
 was the firſt viſible inſtance of the Deſection of
 the Earl of *Northumberland* from his Maſteſty's

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Service; which wrought several ill Effects in the minds of many: For, as the Earl then had the most Esteemed and Unblemished Reputation, in Court and Country, of any Person of his Rank throughout the Kingdom; so They who knew him well, discerned, that the Greatness of that Reputation, was but an effect of the singular Grace and Favor showed to him by his Majesty; who, immediately upon the death of his Father, had taken this Earl (being then less than Thirty years of age) into his immediate and eminent Care; first made him a Privy-Counsellor; then Knight of the Order of the Garter; then (that he might fit him by degrees for the greatest Trust and Employments) sent him Admiral into the Narrow Seas, of a Royal Navy; and after a Summer spent in that exercise, made him Lord high Admiral of *England*; and to the very minute of which we speak, prosecuted him with all manner and demonstration of Respect and Kindness; and (as I heard his Majesty himself say) “Courtied him as “his Mistress, and Conversed with him as his “Friend, without the least interruption or inter- “mission of any possible favor and kindness.” And therefore many, who observed this great Earl purchase this opportunity of Disserving the King, at the price of his Brother’s honor, and of his Own gratitude, concluded, that he had some notable temptation in Conscience, and that the Court was much Worse than it was believed to be

The truth is, that after his Brother’s being accused of High-Treason; and then, upon his hurt in *Sussex*, coming directly to *Northumberland-House*

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to shelter himself; the Earl being in great trouble how to send him away beyond the Seas after his wound was cured, advised with a confident Friend then in Power, whose affection to him he doubted not, and who, innocently enough, brought Mr. Pym into the Council, who over-witted them Both, by frankly consenting, "that Mr. Piercy should "escape into *France*," which was all the care the Earl had; but then obliged him, "First to draw "such a Letter from him, as might by the Party "be applied as an Evidence of the reality of the Plot, "after he was escaped;" and in this manner the Letter was procured: which made a lasting Quarrel between the two Brothers; and made the Earl more at the Disposal of Those persons whom he had trusted so far, than he had been before.

After the Act for the Continuance of the Parliament, the House of Commons took much more upon them, in point of their Privileges, than they had done; and more undervalued the Concurrence of the Peers; though that Act, neither Added any thing to, nor Extended their Jurisdiction: which Jurisdiction, the Wisdom of Former times kept from being Limited or Defined; there being Then no danger of Excess; and it being much more agreeable to the nature of the Supreme Court to have an Unlimited Jurisdiction. But Now that they could not be Dissolved without Their Own consent (the Apprehension and Fear whereof, had always Before kept them within some bounds of Modesty) they called any Power they pleased

B O O K to assume to Themselves, “ a Branch of their
 III. “ Privilege;” and any Opposing or Questioning
 that Power, “ a Breach of their Privileges: which
 “ all men were bound to Defend by Their late
 “ Protestat on; and They were the Only Proper
 “ Judges of Their Own Privileges.”

Hereupon, They called whom they pleased, *Delinquents*; received Complaints of all kinds; and committed to Prison whom they pleased: which had been never done, nor attempted, before This Parliament; except in some such apparent Breach, as the Arresting a Privileged person, or the like: And, as if Thiers had swallowed up all other Privileges, of Peers, and the King himself, upon the Lords rejecting a Bill sent up to them “ to compel “ all persons” (without distinction of Quality; and without distinction of Punishment or Proceeding, upon their refusal) “ to take the late Protestation;” and two Lords of great Credit (the Earl of *Southampton*. and the Lord *Roberts*) having refused to take the same; the House of Commons in great Fury, and with many expressions of Contempt, by a Vote declared, “ that the Protestation made by Them, was fit to “ be taken by every person, that was well affected in “ Religion, and to the good of the Common-wealth; “ and therefore, that what person soever should not “ take the Protestation, was unfit to bear Office in the “ Church or Common-wealth;” and directed farther, “ That that Vote should be Printed, and “ that the Knights and Burgeffes should send down “ Copies of it, to the several Places for which “ they served:” which was the most unparalleled

Breach of Privilege; and the highest and most insolent Affront to the Lords, to the King, and to the Justice of the Kingdom: and the most Destructive to Parliaments, that any Age had been guilty of. And yet, when some of the Peers nobly resented it, on the behalf of the Peerage, and the Liberty of the Subject. and pressed resolutely for Reparation, means was found out, to engage the King to interpose his Royal mediation with those Lords, to the end they might quietly pass by that public Violation and Indignity, without further insisting on it.

All this time the two Armies were continued at a vast Charge, many men whispering (but so that it might be spoken of) “that the *Scots* would not retire, till the Bill against Episcopacy was passed:” Whereupon, the King sent them word about the beginning of *July*, “that he desired all speed might be used for the Disbanding both Armies; for the better, and more orderly doing whereof, he had Constituted the Earl of *Holland* General of his Army” (the Earl of *Northumberland*, by reason of his Indisposition in health, or some other reason, having laid down his Commission) “and intended forthwith to send him down thither: that his Majesty himself, according to a former Resolution, and Promise made to his Subjects of *Scotland*, meant to visit that his Native Kingdom, for the better perfecting the Peace there; and appointed the day (about fourteen days after) he resolved to begin his Progress; and therefore wished them, against that time, to Prepare and Finish any such Acts, as they desired might

B O O K “ receive his Majesty’s Approbation, for the good
 III. “ of the Kingdom, if there yet remained any thing
 “ to be asked of him ” Notwithstanding which
 message, they spent most of their time upon the Bill
 for the extirpation of Bishops, Deans, and Chapters;
 without either finishing the Act of Pacification
 between the two Nations, or giving order for the
 Disbanding the Army.

It was wondered at by many, and sure was a
 great Misfortune to the King, that he chose not
 rather, at that time (though the Business was only
 to Disband) to Constitute the Earl of *Essex* General
 of his Army, than the Earl of *Holland*; for (besides
 that it would have been an act of much more grace
 and satisfaction to the People, and to the Soldiery) his
 Majesty having lately given him so great an earnest of
 his trust, as the making him Chamberlain of his house,
 he ought in Policy to have pursued that work, by
 any seasonable accumulation of Favor, till he had
 made him his perfect Creature; which had been very
 easy, if skillfully attempted: for his Pride and Ambition,
 which were not accompanied with any habit of ill
 Nature, were very capable of Obligations; and he had
 a Faithfulness and Constancy in his Nature, which had
 kept him always Religious in matter of trust; Then, he
 was almost a declared Enemy to the *Scottish* Nation;
 and would have been very Punctual in all Formalities
 and Decencies, which had any relation to his Master’s
 Honor, or the Honor of the Nation. In a word, he
 might have been Imposed upon in his understanding,
 but could not have been Corrupted by hopes or fears
 of what the two Houses could have done to him;

and was then more the Idol of the People, than in truth the Idolater of them. B O O K
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Whereas, by making the Earl of *Holland* General, his Majesty much Disobliged the Other, who expected it, and to whom it had been in a manner offered; and made him apprehend some Distrust in the King towards him; and that his former Favor in his Office had been conferred on him, rather because no man else had been able to bear the Envy of Displacing the Earl of *Pembroke*, than that his Own Merit and Service was valued. Besides, the Earl of *Holland*, upon whom he conferred that Honor, had formerly disappointed him, and often incurred his displeasure; and wore some marks of it; and was of no other Interest or Reputation with the Party which could do mischief, than as a person Obnoxious to them, in the mis-executing his great and terrible Office of Chief Justice in Eyre, by which he had vexed and oppressed most Counties in *England*, and the most Considerable persons in those Counties; and in other particulars; that they knew he durst not offend them, and would purchase Their protection and good opinion at any price: As it fell out; for within few days after the King was gone through that Army, in his way to *Scotland*, the Earl wrote a Letter, which was communicated to both Houses, in which he mystically expressed "some new Design to have been set on foot for Corrupting the Army; for which there was never after the least color given;" but served then, to heighten the old Jealousies, and to bespeak a

B O O K Misunderstanding for whatsoever should be proposed on his Majesty's behalf during his absence.
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Men now believed, that they would be very forward in Dismissing the *Scottish* Army, and Disbanding the other, which cost the Kingdom so vast a Sum of Money every Month; and they had already Voted a Brotherly assistance to the *Scots* of Three Hundred Thousand pounds, for the Service They had performed; and an Act was already prepared for the raising the Sum: but They had yet no mind to part with their beloved Brethren.

The Commissioners who treated with the *Scots*, had agreed, " that the King should be present " in his Parliament in *Edinburgh*, by such a day " in *July*, to Pass the Act for Pacification between " the two Kingdoms, and such other Acts as " his Parliament there should propose to him;" and his Majesty prepared to begin his Progress, soon enough to be in *Scotland* by the time; and they resolved on all sides, " that the one Army " should be drawn out of the Kingdom, and the " other totally Disbanded, before the King should " arrive in the Northern parts. for many reasons." As They had lost all confidence in the affections of the *English* Army, so there were many Jealousies arisen among the *Scots*; both in their Army, and amongst their greatest Counsellors: notwithstanding all which, instead of making haste to the Disbanding, They published much Jealousy and Dissatisfaction to remain with them, of the Court; " There were some evil Counsellors still about

“ the King, who obstructed many gracious acts, B O O K
“ which would otherwise flow from his good- III.
“ nefs and bounty towards his People; and
“ made ill impreffions in him, of the Parliament
“ itself, and its proceedings.”

Their design was to remove the Duke of *Richmond* from the King; both because they had a mind to have his Office of Warden of the Cinque-Ports from him, that it might be conferred on the Earl of *Warwick*; and as he was almost the Only man of great Quality and Consideration about the King, who did not in the least degree stoop, or make court to them, but crossed them boldly in the House; and all other ways pursued his Master's service, with this utmost vigor and intentness of mind: They could not charge him with any thing like a Crime, and therefore only intended by some Vote to Brand him, and make him Odious; by which they presumed, they should at last make him willing to ransom himself by quitting that Office: For which, there was some underhand treaty, by persons who were solicitous to Prevent farther Inconveniences; and as they found any thing like to succeed in that, they slackened or advanced their discourse of Evil Counsellors.

One day they were very warm upon the Argument, and had a purpose to have named Him directly, which they had hitherto forbore to do, when Mr. *Hyde* stood up, and said. “ He did
“ really believe that there yet remained some Evil
“ Counsellors, who did much harm about the King;

B O O K “ and that it would be much better to Name them,
 III. “ than to Amuse the House so often with the
 “ general mention of them ; as if we were afraid
 “ to name them ; He proposed, that there might
 “ be a day appointed, on which, upon due reflections
 “ upon Those who had been most notorious in doing
 “ Mischief to the Public, we might most probably
 “ find, Who they were who trod still in the same
 “ paths, and might Name them accordingly ; and
 “ that for His part, if a day were appointed for that
 “ discovery, He would be ready to name One,
 “ who by all the marks we could judge by, and
 “ by his former course of Life, might very
 “ reasonably be believed to be an Evil Counsellor.”

They were exceedingly apprehensive that he meant the Marquis of *Hamilton* (who, for the reasons aforesaid, was very dear to them) and thenceforward, though they desisted not from prosecuting the Duke, till at last they had compelled him to quit the Cinque-Ports to the Earl of *Warwick*, They no more urged the discovey of Evil Counsellors. And all the Familiar Friends of Mr. *Hyde*, were importuned to move him, “ not to endeavour “ to do any Prejudice to the Marquis of *Hamilton* ;” and even the King himself, was prevailed with to send to him to that purpose : So industrious was that People to Preserve Those whom for private ends they desired to Preserve, as well as to Destroy Those who they desired should be Destroyed.

When every body expected that nothing should be mentioned in the House but the despatch of the Treaty of the Pacification, by the Commissioners

of both sides; which was the only obstruction to the discharge of the Armies, and which could be done in two days, if they pursued it: They called in a Morning, "for the Bill" (that had so long before been brought in by Sir *Edward Deering*) "for the Expropriation of Episcopacy;" and gave it a Second reading; and Resolved, "that it should be committed to a Committee of the whole House, and that it should be proceeded upon the next Morning." It was a very long Debate the next Morning, after the Speaker had left the Chair, Who should be in the Chair for the Committee; They who wished well to the Bill, having resolved "to put Mr. *Hyde* into the Chair, that he might not give them trouble by frequent Speaking, and so too much obstruct the expediting the Bill;" They who were against the Bill, pressed and called loud to Mr. *Crew* to be in the Chair: but in conclusion, Mr. *Hyde* was commanded to the Chair; They who were Enemies to the Bill being divided in opinion, many believing, that he would obstruct the Bill more in that place, than if he remained at liberty; and they found it to be true,

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Episcopacy re-
vived in the
House of Com-
mons, and
Committed.

The First day the Committee sat full seven hours, and determined, "that every day, as soon as the House was resumed, the Chairman should report the several Votes of that day to the House, which should determine them before it rose;" which was without any Precedent, and very Prejudicial to the grave transaction of the business: For, besides that it was a Prejudging the House in its judgment, who, upon Report of the Committee, should

B O O K have regard to the whole Bill in the Amendments
 III. made by them, which They were precluded from, by having confirmed the several days Votes; It was so late every day before the House was resumed (the Speaker commonly leaving the Chair about nine of the Clock, and never resuming it till Four in the Afternoon) that it was very thin; They only, who prosecuted the Bill with impatience, remaining in the House. and the Others, who abhorred it, growing weary of so tiresome an attendance, left the House at Dinner-time, and afterwards followed their Pleasures: So that the Lord *Falkland* was wont to say, “ that They who hated Bishops, “ hated them worse than the Devil, and that “ They who loved them, did not love them so “ well as their Dinner.”

However, the Chairman gave some stop to their haste; for, besides that at the end of his Report every day to the House, before the House put the Question for the concurrence in the Votes, He always enlarged himself against every one of them, and so spent them much time; When They were in the heat and passion of the Debate, they oftentimes were entangled in their questions; so that when He Reported to the House the work of the day, he did frequently Report two or three Votes directly contrary to each other, which, in the heat of their debate, they had unawares run into. And after near Twenty days spent in that manner, they found themselves very little advanced towards a Conclusion, and that they must Review all that they had done: and the King being resolved to

begin his journey for *Scotland*, They were forced to discontinue their beloved Bill, and let it rest; Sir *Arthur Haslerig* declaring in the House, "that he would never hereafter put an Enemy into the "Chair;" nor had they ever after the courage to resume the consideration of the Bill, till after the War was entered into.

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III.

The Bill
laid aside.

The time being come, within two or three days (according to his former Declaration) for the King's Journey into *Scotland*, the House of Commons thought it time to lay aside their Disputes upon the Church, which every day grew more involved, and to intend the perfecting the Act of Pacification, and the Order for Disbanding; both which were thought necessary to be despatched, before his Majesty should begin his Progress; and might have been long since done. On a sudden, the House of Commons grew into a perplexed Debate, concerning the King's Journey into *Scotland* (which had been long before known, and solemnly promised by his Majesty to the Commissioners of *Scotland*; where preparation was made for his Reception, and the Parliament Summoned there accordingly) and expressed many dark and doubtful apprehensions of his Safety; not without some glances, "that if his Majesty were once with his "Army, he might possibly enter upon new Counsels, "before he consented to Disband it;" and in the end concluded, "to desire the Lords to join with "them, in a request to the King, to defer his "Journey into *Scotland*, till the Act of Pacification "was passed, the Armies Disbanded, and till such

B O O K “ other Acts were prepared, as should be thought
 III. “ necessary for the good of the Kingdom;” without
 mentioning any time, against which those things
 should be ready : which, though it was an unreasonable request, yet, most men having no mind the
 King should go into *Scotland*, it was consented to
 by Both Houses; and thereupon, an Address was
 made to his Majesty to that purpose : who returned
 his Answer, “ that He was sorry, the Houses having
 “ had so long notice of his intentions for that
 “ Journey (which could not but appear very
 “ reasonable to them) had neglected to prepare all
 “ such things, as were necessary to be despatched
 “ by him before he went ; That, though his
 “ presence in *Scotland* was depended upon, by such
 “ a day, and the Disappointment might beget
 “ some Prejudice to him, yet, he was content to
 “ satisfy Their desires so far, as to defer his Journey
 “ for Fourteen days ; within which time they might
 “ make all things ready that were of importance,
 “ and beyond which time it would not be possible
 “ for him to make any stay.”

This time being gotten, They proceeded but
 slowly in the Directions for Disbanding (though
 the Earl of *Holland* was gone down to the Army)
 or in the Act of the Pacification; but continued
 their mention “ of Fears and Jealousies, of the
 “ Peace of the Kingdom; of an Invasion from
 “ Foreign parts; and an Insurrection of the Papists
 “ in *England*: against all which, they said, there
 “ was not yet Sufficient Provision, by the Laws
 “ and Constitution of the Kingdom.” And therefore

one day, Sir *Arthur Haslerig* (who, as was said before, was used by that Party, like the Dove out of the Ark, to try what Footing there was) preferred a Bill “for the Settling the Militia of the Kingdom, both by Sea and Land, in Such persons as they should nominate;” with all those Powers and Jurisdictions, which have been Since granted to the Earl of *Essex*, or Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, by Land, or to the Earl of *Warwick*, by Sea. There were in the Bill no Names, but Blanks, to receive them, when the matter should be passed; though men were assured, that the Earl of *Essex* was their Confident by Land, and the Earl of *Northumberland* by Sea: and yet the inclination to the Earl of *Warwick* would have begot some disturbance, if the matter had come then to be pressed.

When the Title of this Bill was read, it gave so general an Offence to the House, that it seemed inclined to throw it out, without suffering it to be read; not without some Reproach to the person that brought it in, “as a matter of Sedition;” till Mr. *Saint-John*, the King’s Solicitor, rose up, and spoke to it, and (having, in truth, Himself drawn the Bill) said, “He thought That Passion and Dislike very unseasonable, before the Bill was read; That it was the highest Privilege of every Member, that he might Propose any Law, or make any Motion, which, in his Conscience, he thought Advantageous for the Kingdom, or the Place for which he served, As for the Matter, which by the Title that Bill seemed to comprehend, He was of opinion, that somewhat was

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Sir Arthur
Haslerig
prefers a Bill
for Settling
the Militia.

The Solicitor
Saint-John
seconds it.

B O O K " necessary to be done in it; for He was sure, that
III. " such Power, as might be necessary for the
 " Security of the Kingdom, over the Militia, was
 " not yet by Law vested in any person; or in the
 " Crown itself: That They had lately by their
 " Votes Blasted and Condemned the Power of Lords
 " Lieutenants, and their Deputies, which had been
 " long exercised, and submitted to by the People;
 " That, since that was determined, it was necessary
 " to substitute Such in their room, as might be
 " able to Suppress any Insurrection, or Resist any
 " Invasion: And therefore, that it was fit to hear
 " the Bill read; and if any fitting expedient was
 " proposed in it to that purpose, to embrace it;
 " otherwise, to think of a better. For the Nomina-
 " tion of Persons, it would not be seasonable to
 " speak of it, till the Power and Jurisdiction were first
 " settled and constituted; and then, if it seemed too
 " great for any Subject, it might be devolved upon
 " the Crown; which Yet was not sufficiently pos-
 " sessed of a Legal Power to the purposes aforesaid."

The Bill read
 Once and no
 more.

Upon this Discourse, by a person of the King's
 sworn Council, the Bill was read; but with so
 universal a Dislike, that it was never called upon
 the Second time, but slept, till long after the
 matter of it was digested in Ordinances.

The peremptory day again drawing very near,
 for the King's Journey into *Scotland*, and very
 little done towards the Public, since the time they
 had prevailed with his Majesty to suspend it. On
 a *Saturday*, in the Afternoon (the Progress being
 to begin on *Monday*) They again fell into violent
 Passion

Passion against the King's going into *Scotland*: the which they thought of so great importance to be hindered, that they resolved (and prevailed with the Lords to do the like) to Sit the next day, being *Sunday*; which had scarce ever before been known, since the first institution of Parliaments; and which they thought fit to excuse by a short Declaration, that the People might not be thereby encouraged to Profane the Sabbath.

When they found the King constant to his former Resolution, and that all They could alledge could prevail no farther with him, than, whereas he intended to go on *Monday* after dinner, to stay till *Tuesday* Morning, They very earnestly proposed, " that He would leave a Commission with some Persons, to Pass such Acts as should be prepared and pass both Houses in his absence; and to make a *Custos Regni*, to supply the place of Government till his return:" with many other Extravagancies, which Themselves understood not. But when they found that no such Commission could be Legally granted, to Consent to any Acts that were not consented to by Both Houses at the date of the Commission; and that both the Person and the Power of a *Custos Regni*, would be duly weighed, and would take up much consideration, if the King were willing to satisfy them; They were contented with a Commission to the Earl of *Essex*, of Lieutenant-General on that side *Trent*: which his Majesty having granted; and confirmed the Act of Pacification between the two Kingdoms (which in great haste was transacted in both Houses, as if it had been only matter of Form) he

B O O K
III.

The Act of Pacification being passed the King begins his journey towards Scotland.

B O O K took his Journey from *London* towards *Scotland*
 III. towards the middle of *August*, leaving both Houses sitting at *Westminster*.

The unexpected Passion and Importunity to hinder his Majesty's Journey into *Scotland*, was not well understood; and the less, for that the Governing Party was divided upon it: Some of them, with trouble equal to what they had at any time expressed, insisting upon his not going; Others alledging, "that his Majesty was so far engaged in it, that he could not in honor recede from it:" Whilst the *Scottish* Commissioners, who were often appealed and referred to in the Debate, answered so mysteriously, as argued rather a conveniency, and expectation of the Journey itself, than any necessity in point of time. Neither was the ground of his Majesty's so positive and unalterable Resolution of going thither, sufficiently clear to Standers by; who thought he might have transacted the business of that Kingdom (where he could not reasonably expect any great reverence to his Person) better at a distance; and that his Presence might be more necessary in This.

But, as his Majesty's impatiency to see both Armies disbanded, and this Kingdom freed from the Invasion (both which he heartily desired) and his desire to refresh himself, from the vexation which the Two Houses, or One of them, or Some in one of them, daily gave him; hurried him to that Expedition, without well weighing and preparing how to comport himself through it: So no doubt, that opposition, and instance against it (besides the continued desire they had to remove the King

from any fixed resolution) was designed partly, B O O K
III.
to procure an excuse for the hasty passing the Bill of Pacification; which they had purposely retarded (foreseeing there were many particulars in it, that, if weighed, would never have been consented to) till they might be so straitened in time, that whosoever objected against what was offered, might seem to hinder the Disbanding, and to necessitate the King's longer stay: but principally they hoped, that his Majesty, rather than defer his Journey, on which he was resolved, would consent to any unreasonable qualifying Such persons whom They should name, with Power in his absence: and moreover probably there was some real Jealousy of the Scots at that time, and between the *Scottish* Commissioners themselves (as was conceived by some) by reason of great Addresses made to the King by the Earl of *Rothes*, the principal and governing Person of that Nation, and some insinuation of favor from his Majesty to him; so that they did in earnest desire to put off that Journey, for fear of disturbance There.

The truth is, the King was well satisfied with the Promises made to him by that Earl; who desired to live in this Court, and was to have been shortly made Gentleman of the Bed - chamber, and was in hope to marry a great and wealthy Lady: and it is certain, the King expected, by His help and interest, to have found such a Party in *Scotland*, as would have been more tender of His honor than they after expressed themselves; and did always impute the failing thereof to the absence of that

B O O K III. Earl, who being sick at the King's going from *London*, within six weeks after died. But Others believed, He had been so far guilty of what had been done amiss, that he would neither have been able, nor willing to preserve the foundation of that Power, which might hardly have forgotten by what means it had been oppressed.

The Irish
Army Dis-
banded about
this time.

I must not omit here, the Disbanding another Army, about the same time; the Circumstances whereof were very remarkable, and the cause of much Trouble that ensued. The King perceiving that he was not now like to have any use of the new Army in *Ireland*; at least not that use for which it was raised (which was, to have visited *Scotland*) and finding often mention, enviously and maliciously, made of that Army, in the House of Commons; and having from thence (by the advice of the Committee for *Ireland*) received some Addresses for that purpose; resolved to Disband them; and to that end, signified his Pleasure to the Lords Justices of *Ireland*, and to the Earl of *Ormond* his Lieutenant-General of that Army; directing withal (according to the last advice he had received from the Earl of *Strafford*) "that any Officers of the
" Army, should have free leave to transport what
" men they could get of that Army, for the service
" of any Prince in amity with this Crown:" and shortly after, upon the earnest desire of *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, Ambassador from the King of *Spain*, his Majesty consented, that four thousand Soldiers of that Army should be transported for the service of that King into *Flanders*; at the same time

permitting as many as desired the same, to be transported for the service of the *French King*. This was no sooner known, but the House of Commons interposed, with their accustomed confidence and distemper, "to beseech his Majesty to revoke that "Licence;" and, by impertinent and slight reasons, boldly urged and insisted on, as they did in every thing else, prevailed with the King, "to inhibit the "transporting any of those Soldiers out of that Kingdom, for the service of any Prince whatsoever."

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III.

Many were of opinion that this activity in a business of which They had not the least cognizance, proceeded from the instigation of the Ambassador of the *French King*; who was very conversant with the principal persons of that Faction; and no doubt fomented those humors out of which the Public Calamities were bred; and some said boldly, and one or two have since affirmed it, as upon their knowledge, "that Mr. Pym received "five thousand pound from that *French Minister*, "to hinder that Supply to *Spain*." Others believed, that it proceeded only from that proud and petulant spirit which possessed them, to lessen the reputation of the King; and to let the King of *Spain* and all other Princes see the Power They had, to oppose and cross His resolutions in the most pure acts of Sovereignty. But I believe, though there might be a mixture of Both the other reasons, the principal motive that induced them to that Interposition, was the advice and desire of the Committee from the Parliament of *Ireland*, whose counsel was entirely followed in Whatsoever con-

B O O K cerned that Kingdom; and who no doubt might
III. have some Prospect of the Rebellion that shortly after broke out, which could hardly have taken effect, if that Body of men had been removed out of the Kingdom, according to the King's direction. But of that more in its place.

As soon as the King begun his Journey for *Scotland*, all Orders, and what else was necessary, were despatched for the Disbanding; and a Resolution taken, "to send a Committee of Lords and Commons to attend his Majesty (that is, to be a Spy upon him) in *Scotland*, and to be present when the Act of Pacification should be transacted in that Parliament, and to preserve the good Inter-course and Correspondence which was begun between the two Nations:" but in truth, to lay the Scene how the next Year should be spent; and to bespeak new Laws for this Kingdom, by the Copies of what should be consented to for That.

In this Errand, two Lords, and four of the Commons, were appointed to go; but for the two Lords, the Lord *Howard* of *Escrick* served the turn; who was ready to be governed by Mr. *Fiennes*, and Mr. *Hambden*, who, together with Sir *William Army*n, made up the Committee. Which being despatched, They thought it time to Breathe a little, and to visit their Counties, for whom they had done such notable Service: and so, towards the latter end of *August* (having first constituted a Committee to Sit during the recess, for the despatch of any important occurrences, and qualifying them with Power They could not depute; Such a Committee, and Such a Qualification, having never

Before been heard of in Parliaments) Both Houses B O O K
 Adjourned themselves till the middle of *October* III.
 following, by which time they presumed the King
 would be returned from *Scotland*; having, from
 the time that they were first convened, which
 was about nine months (longer time than ever
 Parliaments had before continued together in one
 Session) besides all the extraordinary Acts of Blood,
 and Power, procured the King's Assent to These
 following important Laws; by some of which,
 the Kingdom might have received ample benefit
 and advantage.

The Acts
 Passed since
 the beginning
 of this Par-
 liament.

“ A Bill for Triennial Parliaments:” which took
 up a long Debate; there being many Clauses, in
 case the Crown should omit the sending out of
 Writs, derogatory to Majesty, and letting the
 Reins too loose to the People: Yet, since it was
 evident, that great Inconveniences had befallen
 the Kingdom by the long Intermision of those
 conventions; and that that Intermision could not
 have happened, if there had not been some neglect
 of what had been settled by former Laws; There-
 fore there was some color of Reason for those
 Clauses, by Which the Crown could in no case
 suffer, but by its own Default. At last it found an
 easy passage through Both Houses; and by his
 Majesty (who was satisfied that such a frequency
 of meeting with his People, as once in three years,
 might be more convenient than prejudicial to his
 Service; and believed, that by His consenting
 to this Act, the proceedings in the Parliament
 would be more moderate) it had a favorable

An Act for
 Triennial Par-
 liaments.

B O O K

III.

An Act for
taking away
the High-
Commission-
Court.

reception, and was Enacted by him the nex day after it had passed both Houses.

“An Act for the taking away the High-Commission Court:” which comprehended much more, than was generally intended. That Jurisdiction was erected by a Statute in the First year of Queen *Elizabeth*, instead of a larger Power which had been exercised under the Pope’s Authority, then abolished; and whilst it was exercised with moderation, was an excellent means to vindicate and preserve the dignity and peace of the Church: though, from the beginning, it was murmured against by the Non-conformable Party of the Kingdom.

But of late, it cannot be denied, that by the great Power of some Bishops at Court, it had much overflowed the Banks which should have contained it; not only in meddling with things that in truth were not properly within Their cognizance; but extending their Sentences and Judgments in matters triable before them, beyond that degree that was Justifiable; and grew to have so great a Contempt of the Common Law, and the Professors of it (which was a Fatal Unskillfulness in the Bishops, who could never have Suffered whilst the Common Law had been Preserved) that Prohibitions from the Supreme Courts of Law, which have, and must have, the Superintendency over all Inferior Courts, were not only Neglected, but the Judges Reprehended for granting them (which without Perjury They could not deny) and the Lawyers Discountenanced for moving for them (which They were obliged in Duty to do) So that thereby, the Clergy made

almost a Whole Profession, if not their Enemies, yet very Undevoted to them. B O O K III.

Then, it was grown from an Ecclesiastical Court, for the reformation of Manners, to a Court of Revenue; and imposed great Fines upon those who were culpable before them; sometimes above the degree of the Offence, had the jurisdiction of Fining been unquestionable, which it was not. Which course of Fining was much more frequent, and the Fines heavier, after the King had granted all that Revenue (whatsoever it should prove to be) to be employed for the Reparation of *St. Paul's Church*; which, though it were a glorious work, and worthy the Piety of Those who advanced it, and the Greatness of His mind who principally intended it, made the Grievance the heavier.

By these means (besides the Conflux and Influence of That part of the Clergy then in Town, which had formerly been Obnoxious, and Suppressed by the Bishops: Which I do not mention as any piece of Their Exorbitancy; for I do not know that ever any Innocent Clergy-man Suffered by any Ecclesiastical Censure; though, it may be, the Guilty were More Severely proceeded against, and with Less Politic circumstances, than the nature of that time required) that Court had very few Friends; and having many Enemies, the Proposition for Abolishing it was easily hearkened to; of which the Violent Party readily taking notice, they who prepared the Bill inserted Clauses, that not only took away the High-Commission-Court, which was intended, but, upon the matter, the whole

B O O K Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; and, under pretence of
 III. Reforming the great Abuses by the Oath *ex Officio*
 and Excommunication, Destroyed and Cancelled
 all Coercive Power whatsoever in those Courts
 which was never intended: Yet, in that hurry, it
 made a progress through Both Houses, and at
 tended the Royal assent. But, when his Majesty
 understood the Extent thereof, and how far the
 Body of the Bill exceeded the Title; and that
 instead of Reformation, it was opening a door to
 the most Scandalous Offences, and leaving Adultery
 and Incest as Unpunishable, as any other acts of
 good Fellowship; He made a pause in the Con-
 senting to it, till Both Houses might review whether
 the Remedy were proportionable to the Disease.

Immediately the Fire was kindled against the
 Bishops, as the Only Obstacles to any Reforma-
 tion; with some Passionate insinuations, "that,
 " since They opposed a due Regulation of their
 " Power, there would be no way but to cut them
 " off Root and Branch." And thereupon, some Bish-
 ops themselves were again made instruments; and
 Others who pretended to take care of the Church,
 persuaded the King, " for the Bishops sake, to
 " confirm that Bill:" whilst the Designers were much
 pleased to find that Logic prevail; little doubting,
 but when they had taken away their Jurisdiction
 in the Church, by that Bill, and their Dignity in
 the State, by removing them out of the House of
 Peers, They should find it no hard matter to abolish
 Their Names, and Titles out of the Kingdom;
 and to enjoy the goodly Land and Revenues,

which could Only make the Reformation perfect BOOK
 and complete. And in this Manner that Law III.
 was enacted.

“A Bill for taking away the Star-chamber-Court.” An act for
taking away
the Star-cham-
ber-Court;.
 The Progress of which Bill was this. The Exor-
 bitances of this Court had been such (as hath been
 before touched) that there were very few Persons
 of Quality, who had not Suffered, or been Per-
 plexed, by the Weight or Fear of those Censures
 and Judgments. For, having extended Their Juris-
 diction, from Riots, Perjury, and the most noto-
 rious Misdemeanors, to an Asserting all Proclama-
 tions, and Orders of State; to the Vindicating
 Illegal Commissions, and Grants of Monopolies
 (all which were the chief Ground-works of their
 late Proceedings) no man could hope to be longer
 free from the Inquisition of that Court, than he
 resolved to submit to those, and the like extraor-
 dinary courses. And therefore, there was an entire
 inclination, to Limit and Regulate the Proceedings
 of that Court: to which purpose, a Bill was
 brought in, and Twice read, and, according to
 custom, Committed. It being returned after, by
 the Committee, and the Amendments read; it was
 suddenly suggested (by a Person not at all inclined
 to Confusion, or to the Violent Party that intended
 that Confusion) “That the Remedies provided by
 “ that Bill, were not proportionable to the Diseases;
 “ That the Usurpations of that Court, were not
 “ less in the Forms of their Proceedings, than in
 “ the Matter upon which they proceeded; inso-
 “ much that the Course of the Court (which is the

BOOK
III.

“ Rule of their Judging) was so much Corrupted,
 “ that the Grievance was as much thereby, in
 “ those Cases of which they had a proper Cog-
 “ nizance, as it was by their Excess in holding
 “ Pleas of that, in which, in truth, They had
 “ no Jurisdiction: and therefore He conceived,
 “ the proper and most natural Cure for that Mis-
 “ chief, would be, utterly to Abolish That Court,
 “ which it was very difficult, if not impossible,
 “ to Regulate; and in place thereof, to Erect and
 “ Establish such a Jurisdiction as might be thought
 “ necessary.” Hereupon, the same Bill was Re-
 committed, with direction, “ so far to alter the
 “ Frame of it, as might serve utterly to take away,
 “ and abolish that Court:” which was accordingly
 done; and again brought to the House, and In-
 grossed, and sent up to the Lords. So that import-
 ant Bill was never Read but Once in the House
 of Commons, and was never Committed; which,
 I believe, was never before heard of in Parliament.

It could not meet with any Opposition in the
 House of Peers. All who had been Judges There,
 having their several Judgments hanging like Meteors
 over their heads; and the Rest, being either Grieved,
 or Frighted, by it: and so, being brought to his
 Majesty, received his Royal assent.

Thus fell that High-Court, a great Branch of the
 Prerogative; having rather been Extended and
 Confirmed, than Founded, by the Statute of the
 Tenth year of King *Henry* the Seventh: For, no
 doubt, it had both a Being, and a Jurisdiction,
 Before that time, though vulgarly it received date

from thence; and, whilst it was Gravelly and Moderately governed, was an excellent Expedient, to Preserve the Dignity of the King, the Honor of his Council, and the Peace and Security of the Kingdom. But the taking it away, was an act very Popular; which, it may be, was not Then more Politic, than the Reviving it may be thought hereafter, when the present Distempers shall be expired.

“ An Act for the Certainty of the Meets, Bounds, and Limits, of all the Forests in *England* :” which was a great Benefit and Ease to the People; who had been so immoderately vexed by the Justice in Eyre’s Seat (exercised with great Rigor by the Earl of *Holland*; and revived by Mr. *Noy*, when he was Attorney - General) that few men could assure themselves their Estates and Houses might not be brought within the Jurisdiction of some Forest; the which if they were, it cost them great Fines : and therefore, to ease Them of their future Fears, the King departed with his Own unquestionable Right (which would, a year before, have been purchased at the price of at least two hundred thousand pounds) without any murmur.

“ An Act, that no Clerk of the Market of his Majesty’s House, should execute his Office in any part of the Kingdom, but only within the verge of the Court: and the execution of that Office, granted to Mayors, and Bailiffs, of Towns Corporate; and to the Lords of Liberties and Franchises, and to their Deputies.” By which, the People through *England*, were freed from many petty vexations, and extortions, which the Deputies and Agents for that Office (who commonly Farmed

B O O K
III.

An Act for
the certainty
of Meets,
Bounds, and
Limits, of
Forests;

An Act li-
miting the
Office of Clerk
of the Market
of his Ma-
jesty’s House:

B O O K the Perquisites of it, within several limits) exercised over them. And let no man say, that This was but an Act of Justice, for the Redress of visible Misdemeanors which his own Officers were guilty of; and that his Majesty parted with nothing of Profit to Himself, by that Act: for the Misdemeanors of any Office may be Prevented, and Punished, and Redressed, without the Taking away, or Suppressing, the Office itself; which is an instance of Power, and Privilege. And the other was used as an argument heretofore (which few men have since approved) for the passing away most of the Old Rents of the Crown, "that they" yielded little Profit to the Crown, being always "swallowed by the many Officers incumbent upon" that Service;" without considering, that even those Many Officers, are of the Essential Honor, and Greatness of Princes. But, as that Computation was very Erroneous in point of Thrift, so it is much more Scandalous in point of Power; and he, that thinks the King gives away nothing that is worth the keeping, when he suffers an Office, which keeps and maintains many Officers, to be abolished, and taken away, does not consider, that so much of his Train is abated, and that he is less spoken of, and consequently less esteemed, in those Places where that Power formerly extended; nor observes, how Private men value themselves, upon those lesser Franchises, and Royalties, which especially keep up the Power, Distinction, and Degrees of men

An act for
preventing

" An Act for the Prevention of Vexatious Proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood: by

which, to Expiate the Trespases which had been lately committed by the Rigorous circumstances of Proceeding, upon that claim, the King Parted with, and Released to his People, a Right, and Duty, as unquestionably Due to him by the Law, as any Service He can lay claim to; and such, as the Subject received the Discharge of it, as a singular Benefit and Advantage.

B O O K

III.

Vexatious
Proceedings
touching the
Order of
Knighthood.

“ An Act for the free making Salt-petre and Gun powder within the Kingdom:” which was a Part of the Prerogative; and not only considerable, as it restrained that precious and dangerous commodity from vulgar hands; but, as in truth it brought a considerable Revenue to the Crown; and more to Those, whom the Crown gratified and obliged by that Licence. The Pretence for this Exemption was, “ the Unjustifiable Proceedings of Those (or of “ Inferior Persons qualified by them) who had been “ trusted in that employment;” by whom, it cannot be denied, many men suffered: But the True Reason was, that thereby They might be sure to have in readiness a good Stock in that Commodity, against the time their occasions should call upon them.

An Act for
the free
making Salt-
petre and
Gunpowder
within the
Kingdom;

“ An Act against diverse Encroachments and Oppressions in the Stannary Courts:” the Logic of which Act, extended itself to all Inferior Courts, and manner of Proceedings throughout the Kingdom; though the full measure of that benefit, seemed to be poured out upon the two Counties of *Cornwal* and *Devonshire*; the People whereof, had been so much oppressed by the jurisdiction of that Court (supported and extended with great Passion and Fury by the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord Warden

An Act a-
gainst divers
Encroach-
ments and
Oppressions
in the Stan-
nary Courts.

B O O K of those Stannaries) that both Prohibitions, and
 III. *Habeas Corpus's* from the King's Bench, had been
 disobeyed and neglected; not without some Personal
 Affront, and Reproach, to all the Judges of that
 Court: and therefore, it could not but be great ease
 of heart to those Parts, to be freed from the exor-
 bitancy of that oppression.

An Act a-
 gainst Ship-
 money.

“ An Act, whereby all the Proceedings in the
 “ business of Ship-money were adjudged void, and
 “ disannulled; and the Judgments, Enrolments, and
 “ Entries thereupon, vacated, and cancelled:” which
 (how just and necessary soever) was a frank departure
 from a Right, vindicated by a Judgment in the Ex-
 chequer-Chamber, before all the Judges in *England*;
 and therefore deserved a just acknowledgment;
 besides that, some Clauses in that Statute, assert the
 Subject's Liberty and Property, beyond what was
 done by the Petition of Right; which needed an
 additional establishment.

These Acts of Parliament, finished and enacted in
 the time we speak of; besides the quitting the long
 used Right of laying Impositions upon Foreign
 Trade, in the Preamble of the Bill for Tonnage and
 Poundage; and besides that Fatal Bill for the Conti-
 nuance of this Parliament; will be acknowledged,
 by an Incorrupted Posterity, to be Everlasting
 Monuments of the King's Princely and Fatherly
 Affection to his People; and such an Obligation of
 Repose and Trust from his Majesty in the Hearts
 of his Subjects, that no expressions of Piety, Duty,
 and Confidence, from Them, could have been
 more than a Sufficient Return on Their parts: which,
 how They performed, is to follow in the next place.

THE

History of the Rebellion, etc.

B O O K IV.

Isa. XVII. 12.

Wo to the Multitude of many People, which make a Noise like the noise of the Seas; and to the Rushing of Nations, that make a Rushing like the rushing of many Waters.

WHEN the King came to *York*, which was about the middle of *August*, he found no part of either Army disbanded; for, though Orders had been issued to that purpose, yet the Money, without which it could not be done, was not yet come to hand; and because so great a Sum could not be presently procured, as would Satisfy Both, an Act of Parliament had been passed, for the Satisfaction of the Principal Officers of the King's Army, by which they were promised Payment, upon the Public Faith, in *November* following; till which time they were to respite it, and be contented that the common Soldiers, and Inferior Officers, should be fully Satisfied upon their Disbanding.

During the time of the King's abode at *York*, which was not many days, the Earl of *Holland*, Lord General, made a suit to him for the making a Baron;

B O O K which, at that time, might have been worth to him
 IV. ten thousand pounds. Whether the King apprehended the making an unfit man, who might disserve him in the House of Peers; or whether he resolved to contain himself from enlarging that number, except upon an extraordinary relation to his Own Service, I know not: but he thought not fit, at that time, to gratify the Earl: by which He took himself to be highly Disobliged (as the Courtiers at that time looked upon whatsoever was Denied to them, as taken from them) and having received some Information, from Sir *Jacob Ashley* and Sir *John Coniers*, of some idle passages in the late tampering with the Army to Petition, which had not been before heard of; as soon as the King was gone towards *Scotland* (though his Majesty hath since told me, "that he "thought he had left him at parting in very good "humor and devotion to His Service)" the Earl wrote a Letter to the Earl of *Essex*, to be communicated in Parliament, "that he found there had "been strange attempts made to Pervert, and Corrupt the Army, but, he doubted not, he should "be able to prevent any mischief:" the whole Sense being so mysterious, that it was no hard matter, after it was read in the Houses, to persuade men, that it related to somewhat they had yet never heard; and being dated on the Sixteenth day of *August*, which must be the time that the King was there, or newly gone thence (for he took his Journey from *London* on the Tenth) seemed to reflect on somewhat his Majesty should have attempted. Hereupon their Old Fears are awakened, and New ones

infused into the People; every man taking the liberty of making what interpretation he pleased of that which no man understood.

B O O K
IV.

The Papists were the most Popular Common-place, and the Butt against whom all the Arrows were directed; and so, upon this new Fright, an Order was made by Both Houses "for Disarming all the Papists in *England*:" upon which, and the like Orders, though seldom any thing was after done, or no matter of moment, yet it served to keep up the Fears and Apprehensions in the People, of Dangers and Designs, and to disincline them from any Reverence or Affection to the Queen, whom they begun every day more implacably to hate, and consequently to disoblige. And, as upon those, and the like light occasions, They grew to a licence of Language, without the least respect of Persons, of how Venerable estimation soever; so they departed from all Order or Regularity in Debate; or Rules and Measures in Judging; the chief Rulers amongst them, first designing what They thought Fit to be done, and the Rest concluding any thing Lawful, that They thought, in order to the doing and compassing the same: in which neither Laws nor Customs could be admitted to signify any thing against Their sense.

Order of both
Houses to
Disarm all
Papists.

I remember, about that time, in the providing Money for the Disbanding the Armies, upon which they were marvellously solicitous, from the time that the King went towards the North, there arose a Question, "Whether *Wilmot*, *Ashburnham*, and " *Pollard*, should receive their Pay due to them

BOOK

IV.

“ upon their several Commands, lying under the Charge of the Plot, for bringing up, and Corrupting the Army ;” very many Passionately alledging, “ that Such men ought not to receive their Pay, who had Forfeited their Trust:” Yet there wanted not many who alledged, “ that They had the Security of an Act of Parliament for their Payment, and that in Justice it could not be detained from them; that, though they lay under the Displeasure of the House, they were so far from a Judgment yet, that there was not so much as a Charge against them, but that they were at liberty under Bail; and therefore, they could not be said to have Forfeited any thing that was their own.” In this debate the House seemed equally divided, till One, who well knew what he said, told them “ That there could not be any Reasonable Pretence for Detaining their due, as well for the Reasons that had been given, as, that they were absolutely Pardoned by the late Act of Oblivion, and Pacification, between the two Kingdoms:” the which was no sooner said, than many of Those who were before inclined to the Gentlemen, changed their opinions, and, without so much as calling to have the Statute read, declared, “ That They could have no Benefit by that Act of Parliament, because then, the Same might be as well applied to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*” And so, without further weighing the Law, or the Reason, it was thought sufficient, not only to exclude them from that Benefit, but to bar them from their Money; lest They might be thought to be admitted

to it for That reason, which might prove an advantage to Another, to Whom They had no inclination to be Just. And no question, They had been overseen in the Penning that Statute; the Words, in their true and genuine signification and extent, comprehending as well the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, as Those who at that time had no contempt of the Security they reaped thereby.

Soon after the King went into *Scotland*, there being some motion "to Adjourn the Houses till after "*Michaelmas*," which seemed to be generally inclined to, very many of both Houses being willing to refresh themselves, after so long absence from their Homes (the Summer being far spent, and the Plague increasing; of which some Members had died; and others were in danger, having been in infected houses) and conceiving, that there was no more to be done till the return of the King, saving only the procuring Money to finish the Disbanding; went into the Country: and others, who staid in the Town, were less solicitous to attend the Public Service; but betook themselves to those exercises and refreshments which were pleasanter to them: insomuch, as within twenty days after the King's remove, there were not above Twenty Lords, nor much above a Hundred Commoners, in both Houses. But This was the advantage looked for; Those Persons continuing (especially in the House of Commons) to Whose care and managery the Whole Reformation was committed, They now entered upon the consultation of the highest matters, both in Church and State; and made attempts and

BOOK entries upon those Regalities and Foundations,
 IV. which have been Since more evident in wider and more notorious Breaches.

From the liberty and success of advising what was Fit to be done out of the Kingdom, with reference to the Levies for *France* and *Spain*, They assumed the same freedom, of consulting and determining what was Not fit, within the walls of the Church; and finding their numbers to be so thin, that they might, by art or accident, prevail with the major part to be of Their mind; and to gratify the more Violent Party of the Reformers (who, with great impatience, suffered themselves to be contained within any bounds or limits, by Those who knew better how to conduct their business) They entered upon debate of the Book of Common-Prayer; (which sure, at that time, was much revered throughout the Kingdom) and proposed. “in
 “ regard (they said) many things in it gave offence,
 “ at least umbrage to tender Consciences,” That there might be liberty to Disuse it: which Proposition was so ungracious, that though it was made in a thin House, and pressed by Those who were of the greatest Power and Authority, It was so far from being consented to, that, by the major part (the House consisting then of about Sixscore) it was Voted, “ That it should be duly observed.”

However, the next day, contrary to all Rules and Orders of Parliament, very many being absent who had been active in that Debate, They Suspended the Order; and Resolved, “ That the Standing
 “ of the Communion-Table in all Churches should

" be altered;" the Rails (which in most Places had been set up for the greater Decency) " should be
 " pulled down; that the Chancels should be levelled,
 " and made even with all other parts of the Church;
 " and that no man should presume to bow at the
 " Name of *Jesus*" (which was enjoined by a Canon, and of long use in the Church): and having digested these Godly Resolutions into an Order, they carried it up to the Lords for Their concurrence; promising themselves, that from the small number which remained there, they should find no dissent. But the major part of the Lords being much scandalized, that the House of Commons should not only unseasonably, and irregularly, interpose in a matter where in they had not the least jurisdiction; but should presume to disturb the Peace of the Church, and interrupt the Settled and Legal Government thereof, by such Schismatical presumption, not only refused to join with them, but instead thereof, directed an Order, formerly made by the House of Peers (on the Sixteenth of *January* before) to be Printed, to this effects, " That the Divine Service should
 " be Performed, as it is appointed by the Acts of
 " Parliament of this Realm; and that all Such as
 " shall Disturb that Wholesome Order, shall be
 " Severely Punished according to Law;" and acquainted the Commons therewith: Who, nothing satisfied, pursued their former Order, and " com-
 " manding all the Commons of *England* to Submit
 " to Their direction, declared. That the Order of
 " the Lords was made by the Consent but of
 " Eleven Lords, and that Nine other Lords did

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“ Dissent from it; and therefore, that No Obedience should be given thereunto.” Whereas, the Order had been made in Full Parliament, seven Months before, and was Seasonably ordered to be Published by the Major Part present, upon that Important occasion. And such an Arraigning the House of Peers for Publishing an Order in maintenance of the Laws established, by Those who had no authority to declare what the Law was, nor a Jurisdiction over Those who should infringe the Law, was so transcendent a Presumption, and Breach of Privilege, that there was great expectation what the Lords would do in their own Vindication.

An Ordinance
of both Houses
for a Day of
Thanksgiving;
on occasion of
the Pacifica-
tion.

There was one Clause in the Act of Pacification, “ that there should be a Public and Solemn Day of Thanksgiving, for the Peace between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* :” But no day being appointed for that act of Indevotion, the Lords and Commons assumed the Power to themselves of directing it; and to that purpose, made an Ordinance (as they called it) “ that it should be observed on the Seventh of *September* following, “ throughout the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*” Which was done accordingly: the Factionous Ministers in all Pulpits, taking occasion then to magnify the Parliament, and the *Scots*; and to infuse as much Malignity into the People, against Those who were not of that Faction, as their Wit and Malice could suggest; the House of Commons celebrating that day in the Chappel at *Lincoln’s-Inn*; because the Bishop of *Lincoln*, as

Dean of *Westminster*, had formed a Prayer for that occasion, and enjoined it to be read on that day, in those Churches where He had Jurisdiction; which, They liked not: both as it was a Form; and formed by Him; and so avoided coming there.

After the Solemnization of that day, and Their making their Declaration against the Lords, about the Order above mentioned, and the recommending some Seditious, Unconformable Ministers, to be Lecturers in Churches about *London*, whom the Incumbents were compelled to receive: When They had great apprehension, by their Members leaving them, that they should not have Forty remaining (less than which number could not constitute a House of Commons) They consented to a Recess; and on the Ninth day of *September*, 1641, They Adjourned themselves till the Twentieth day of *October* following: Either House, irregularly (for the like had never been before practised) making a Committee, to meet twice a week, and oftener, if They saw cause, during the Recess, and to transact such business as they were authorized to do by Their instructions.

The House of Lords limited their Committee (which consisted of the Earls of *Effex*, *Warwick*, the Lords *Wharton*, *Kimbolton*, and Twelve more; but every Three were as able to transact as the whole number) by their Instructions, “ only to open “ the Letters which should come from the Committee in *Scotland*, and to return Answers to “ them; with Power to recal that Committee, “ when they thought fit; to send down Moneys to

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Sept 9. 1641
Both Houses
Adjourned to
Octob 20. ap-
pointing a
Committee of
Each to Sit
during the
Recess.

The Power of
the Committee
of the House of
Lords:

B O O K “ the Armies ; and to assist about their Disbanding ;
 IV. “ and in removing the Magazines from *Berwick*
 “ and *Carlisle*.”

of the House
 of Commons.

But the House of Commons thought this Power too narrow for Their Committee ; and therefore , against Order too (for the Power of the Committees of both Houses ought to have been equal) They qualified theirs (which consisted of Mr. *Pym* , Mr. *Saint-John* , Mr. *Strode* , Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* , Sir *Henry Mildmay* , Sir *Henry Vane* , Alderman *Pennington* , Captain *Venn* , and Others ; every Six having the Authority of the Whole) as well with the Powers granted to the Lords , as likewise , “ to go on in preparation “ of Proceedings , against such Delinquents , as “ were voted against , or complained of in the “ House ; and to receive any offers of Discovery “ that They should make ; To send to all Sheriffs , “ and Justices of the Peace , upon information of any “ Riots , or Tumults ; to stir them up in their Duty “ in Repressing them ; and to report to their House “ any Failing in Obedience to Their Commands ; “ To take the Accounts of any Accountants to his “ Majesty , in order to the preparation of his Majesty’s “ Revenue ; To consider of framing and constituting “ a *West-India* Company ; and to consider the Fishing “ upon the coasts of *England* , *Scotland* , and *Ireland* ;” and many other Extravagant particulars : which served to magnify the Authority of that Committee ; and to draw Resort and Reverence to them from almost all sorts of men.

The Business
 before the

The Houses being thus Adjourned ; the Committee of the Commons appointed Mr. *Pym* . to sit in

the Chair; who, forthwith, with his own hand, Signed the Printed Declarations before mentioned, of the Ninth of *September*; and caused them to be so Read in all Churches in *London*, and throughout the Counties. Whereupon, the Seditious and Factionous persons, caused the Windows to be broken down in Churches; broke down the Rails, and removed the Communion Table (which, in many places, had stood in that manner ever since the Reformation) and committed many Insolent and Scandalous Disorders. And when the Minister and the Graver and more Substantial sort of Inhabitants, used any Opposition, and Resisted such their Licence, They were immediately required to attend the Committee; and, if they could be neither persuaded, nor threatened to Submit, their attendance was continued from day to day, to their great Charge and Vexation. If any Grave and Learned Minister refused to admit into his Church a Lecturer recommended by Them (and I am confident, there was not, from the beginning of this Parliament, one Orthodox, or Learned man, recommended by them to any Church in *England*) He was presently required to attend upon the Committee; and not discharged till the Houses met again; and Then likewise, if he escaped Commitment, continued, to his intolerable Loss and Trouble: few men having the Patience to endure that Oppression, against which they knew not whither to Appeal; and therefore in the end Submitted to what they could not Resist: And so all Pulpits were supplied with Their Seditious and Schismatical Preachers.

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The Armies
Disbanded.

The Armies were at last Disbanded; and, about the end of *September*, the Earl of *Holland*, in great Pomp, returned to his House at *Kensington*; where he was visited and caressed, with great application by all the Faction Party: for he had now whether upon the Disobligation remembered before, of being denied the making a Baron; or upon some Information, of some sharp Expressions used by the Queen upon his Letter; and the Conscience of that Letter; or the apprehensions of being Questioned, and Prosecuted, upon the Enormities of his Office of Chief Justice in Eyre, and other Transgressions, fully declared himself of Their Party. And that They might be the better prepared to keep up the Prejudice to the King, and the keenness against the Court, till the coming together of both Houses; when, they had reason to believe, the observation of Their crooked and indirect Courses, and their visible, unwarrantable Breaches, upon the Church, and the Religion established by Law, would render men less devoted to them; his Lordship furnished them with many Informations of what had passed in the late Army, which might be wrested to the King's disadvantage: told them whatsoever the King himself had said to him, when He looked upon him as a Person True to him, and when, it is very probable, He was not much delighted with the Proceedings at *Westminster*; and of all the particulars, which Sir *Jacob Ashley* and Sir *John Coniers* had informed him, when they took him to be of entire Trust with his Majesty, and wholly under that

consideration (whereupon, They were afterwards examined, and compelled to testify That in Public, which they had before imparted to Him in the greatest Secrecy) and added to all this, whatever information he had received by the Lady *Carlisle*, of Words or Actions, spoken or done by the Queen, which might increase Their Jealousy or Malice to her Majesty. And he himself (who had been always believed a Creature of the Queen's; and exceedingly obliged, and protected, by Her immediate and single grace and favor, against the Earl of *Portland*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in those times when They had otherwise destroyed him) visited her Majesty but once, from the time of His return out of the North, to the time of the King's return from *Scotland*, which was full six weeks. And yet, there were some men still at those private meetings at *Kensington*, who thought the Queen's favor a likelier means for their Preferment, than the Interest of the Others; and therefore always gave advertisement to her of what passed in that Company: which information, for want of due care in the managery, and by reason of the unfaithfulness of her nearest Servants, commonly produced somewhat, of which the other Side made greater advantage, than She could do by the knowledge of Their Counsels and Resolutions.

The short Recess of the Parliament, though it was not much above the space of a Month, was yet a great Refreshment to Those who had Sat near a full Year, Mornings and Afternoons, with little or no intermission; and in that warm Region,

B O O K where Thunder and Lightning was made. Some
 IV. very Unwarrantable Proceedings, by the Committee that Sat during the Recess, or Mr. Pym, who sat in the Chair of that Committee, and issued out those Orders concerning the Church gave so much Offence, and Scandal, that the Members were like to meet together with more Courage, and less inclinations to Novelties, than they had parted with. But there were several accidents fell out, some from very little, and some from very great Causes, which had that Influence upon the Nature and Spirit of men, and upon the Actions of that time, that, for the better understanding some particular passages which will appear pertinent, it will be even necessary, briefly, and it shall be but very briefly, to mention some of those Particulars.

A small Committee of Both Houses attended the King in Scotland.

When the King went into *Scotland*; for the better preserving the Correspondence between the two Kingdoms, as was pretended; and to see all things performed, which were to be done in the Parliament of *Scotland*, by the Act of Pacification; a small Committee (as hath been before said) was appointed by the two Houses, consisting of one Lord, and two Commons, to Attend (as the Phrase was) upon his Majesty: but, in truth, to be Spies upon him; and to give the same assistance to the Parliament There, upon any emergent occasion, as the *Scottish* Commissioners had done Here.

For the Lords, the Lord Howard of Eſſerick.

The Person appointed by the Lords, was the Lord *Howard of Eſſerick*; a younger Son of the House of *Suffolk*: who, in the time of the Duke of *Buckingham*, married a Niece of his; and having

his whole dependance upon him, and being absolutely governed by him, was by him made a Baron; but that Dependance being at an end; his Wife dead; and He without any Virtue to promote himself; He withdrew himself from Following the Court; and shortly after, from Wishing it well; and had now, delivered himself up, Body and Soul, to be disposed of by that Party, which appeared most Averse, and Obnoxious, to the Court and the Government: and only in that Confidence, was designed to that Employment; and to be entirely Disposed and Governed by the two Members, who were joined with him by the House of Commons, who were, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and Mr. *Hambden*.

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For the Com-
mons, Sir
Philip Sta-
pleton, Mr.
Hambden.

The Latter hath been mentioned before, as a man of great Understanding, and Parts, and of great Sagacity in discerning men's natures and manners; and he must, upon all occasions, still be mentioned, as a person of great Dexterity and Abilities, and Equal to any trust or employment, good or bad, which he was inclined to undertake.

The Other, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, was a proper man, of a fair extraction; but, being a Branch of a Younger Family, inherited but a moderate Estate, about five hundred pounds a year, in *Yorkshire*; and, according to the custom of that Country, had spent much time in those delights which Horses and Dogs administer. Being returned to serve in Parliament, He concurred with his Neighbours, *Hotham* and *Cholmondley*; being much younger than they, and governed by them in the Prosecution

B O O K of the Earl of *Strafford*; and so was easily received
 IV. into the Company and Familiarity of that whole
 Party which took that work to heart; and in a short
 time, appeared a man of Vigor in body and mind;
 and to be rather Without good Breeding, than not
 Capable of it; and so He quickly outgrew his Friends
 and Country-men in the Confidence of Those who
 governed: They looking upon him, as worth the
 getting entirely to them; and not averse from being
 gotten; and so joined him with Mr. *Hambden* in this
 their first employment (and the First, that ever a Par-
 liament had of that kind) to be initiated under so great
 a Master; whose instruction He was very capable of.

Transactions
 in Scotland,
 touching
 Montros, and
 Argyle, and
 Hamilton.

There had been, even from the time the *Scottish*
 Army came into *England*, many Factions, and
 Jealousies, amongst the Principal Persons of that
 Nation; but none so much taken notice of, as that
 between the two Earls, of *Montros*, and *Argyle*.
 The Former took himself to have Deserved as much
 as any man, in contributing more, and appearing
 sooner, in Their first approach towards Rebellion;
 as indeed he was a man of the best quality, who
 did so soon discover himself; and it may be he did it
 the sooner, in Opposition to *Argyle*; who, being
 then of the King's Council, he doubted not, would
 be of his Majesty's Party. The People looked upon
 them Both, as Young men of unlimited Ambition;
 and used to say, " That they were like *Cæsar* and
 " *Pompey*, the One would endure no Superior, and
 " the Other would have no Equal." True it is, that
 from the time that *Argyle* declared himself against the
 King (which was immediately after the First Pa-
 cification)

cification) *Montrose* appeared with less vigor for the Covenant; and had, by underhand and secret insinuations, made proffer of his Service to the King. But now, after his Majesty's arrival in *Scotland*, by the introduction of Mr. *William Murray* of the Bed-chamber, He came privately to the King; and informed him of many Particulars, from the beginning of the Rebellion; and "that the Marquis of *Hamilton*, " was no less Faulty, and False towards his Majesty, " than *Argyle*;" and offered "to make Proof of all " in the Parliament;" but rather desired, "to have " them Both made away;" which He frankly undertook to do: but the King, abhorring that expedient, though for his own Security, advised, "that the " Proofs might be prepared for the Parliament." When suddenly, on a *Sunday* morning, the City of *Edinburgh* was in Arms; and *Hamilton*, and *Argyle*, both gone out of the Town to their own Houses; where they stood upon their guards; declaring publicly; "That they had withdrawn " themselves, because they knew that there was a " design to Assassinate them; and chose rather to " absent themselves, than by standing upon their " Defence in *Edinburgh* (which they could well " have done) to hazard the Public Peace, and " Security of the Parliament; which thundered on " their behalf."

The Committee at *Edinburgh* despatched away an Express to *London*, with a dark and perplexed account, in the morning that the two Lords had left the City; with many doubtful expressions, "what the end of it would be:" not without

- 3 o o k some dark insinuations, as if the Design might look
 iv. farther than *Scotland*. And these Letters were brought to *London*, the day before the Houses were to come together, after the Recess; all That Party taking pains to Persuade Others, "that it could not but be a Design to Assassinate More men than those " Lords at *Edinburgh*."

And the morning the Houses were to meet, Mr. *Hyde* being walking in *Westminster-Hall*, with the Earl of *Holland* and the Earl of *Essex*, Both the Earls seemed wonderfully concerned at it; and to believe, "that Other men were in danger of the like " Assaults;" the Other, not thinking the Apprehension worthy of them, told them merrily, "that " He knew well what opinions They Both had of " those two Lords, a Year or two before, and he " wondered how they became so altered;" to which They answered smiling, "That the Times and the " Court was much altered since." And the Houses were no sooner Sat, but the Report being made in the House of Commons, and the Committee's Letter from *Scotland* being Read, a Motion was made, "to send to the House of Peers, that the Earl " of *Essex*, who was left by the King General on " this Side *Trent*, might be desired to appoint such " a Guard, as He thought competent for the Security " of the Parliament, constantly to attend while the " Houses sat;" which was done accordingly; and continued, till They thought fit to have other Guards. All which was done to Amuse the People, as if the Parliament were in Danger: when in *Scotland*, all things were quickly Pacified; and

The Earl of
 Essex appoints
 a Guard for
 the Security
 of the Par-
 liament.

ended in creating the Marquis *Hamilton* a Duke, B O O K
and *Argyle* a Marquis.

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News of the
Rebellion in
Ireland.

There was a Worse Accident than all these, which fell out in the time of the King's stay in *Scotland*, and about the time of the two Houses reconvening; which made a wonderful impression upon the minds of men; and proved of infinite Disadvantage to the King's affairs, which were then recovering new life; and that was the Rebellion in *Ireland*: which broke out about the middle of *October*, in all parts of the Kingdom. Their design upon *Dublin* was miraculously discovered, the night before it was to be executed; and so the Surprisal of that Castle prevented; and the principal Conspirators, who had the charge of it, apprehended. In the other parts of the Kingdom, They observed the time appointed, not hearing of the Misfortunes of their Friends at *Dublin*. A general Insurrection of the *Irish* spread itself over the whole Country, in such an Inhuman and Barbarous manner, that there were Forty or Fifty Thousand of the *English* Protestants murdered, before they suspected themselves to be in any danger, or could provide for their Defence, by drawing together into Towns, or strong Houses.

From *Dublin*, the Lords Justices, and Council, despatched their Letters by an Express (the same man who had made the Discovery, one *Oconelly*, who had formerly been a Servant to Sir *John Clotworthy*) to *London*, to the Earl of *Leicester*, then Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. From the Parts of the North, and *Ulster*, an Express was sent to the King

B O O K himself, at *Edinburgh*; and the King's Letters from
 IV. thence, to the two Houses, arrived within less than
 two days after the Messenger from *Dublin*.

It was upon a *Sunday* night, that the Letters from
Dublin came to the Earl of *Leicester*; who immediately caused the Council to be summoned, and
 as soon as it was met, informed them of the condition
 of *Ireland*; that is, so much as those Letters contained: which were written, when little more was
 known than the Discovery at *Dublin*; and what
 the Conspirators had confessed upon their examinations. The House of Peers had then adjourned itself
 to the *Wednesday* following; but the House of
 Commons were to meet on the next day, *Monday*
 morning; and the Council resolved, "that they
 " would in a Body go to the House of Commons,
 " as soon as it Sat, and inform them of it;" which
 they did; notice being first given to the House,
 " that the Lords of the Council had some matters of
 " Importance to impart to them, and were above
 " in the Painted Chamber ready to come to them:"
 whereupon, Chairs were set in the House for them
 to repose themselves, and the Serjeant sent to conduct
 them. As soon as they entered the House, the
 Speaker desired them to Sit down; and then being
 covered, *Lyttleton*, Lord Keeper, told the Speaker,
 " That the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, having
 " received Letters from the Lords Justices and
 " Council there, had communicated them to the
 " Council; and since the House of Peers was not
 " then Sitting, They had thought fit, for the Importance
 " of the Letters, to impart them to that

The Lords of
 the Council
 acquaint the
 House of
 Commons
 with the
 News the
 House of
 Lords not
 Sitting.

“ House; ” and so referred the business to the Lord Lieutenant; who, without any enlargement, only read the Letters he had received, and so the Lords departed from the House. BOOK
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There was a deep Silence in the House, and a kind of Consternation: most men’s heads having been Intoxicated from their First meeting in Parliament, with imaginations of Plots, and Treasonable Designs, through the Three Kingdoms. The affair itself seemed to be out of their cognizance; and the communication of it, served only to prepare their thoughts, what to do when more should be known; and when they should hear what the King thought fit to be done. And when the King’s Letters arrived, they were glad the news had come to him, when he had so good Council about him to advise him what to do.

The King was not then informed of what had been discovered at *Dublin*; but the Letters out of *Ulster* (which he sent to the Parliament) gave him notice “ of a general Insurrection in the North; “ and of the Inhuman Murders committed there, “ upon a multitude of the Protestants; and that Sir “ *Phelim O Neil* appeared as their General, and “ Commander in chief.”

Upon which his Majesty writ to the two Houses, “ That he was satisfied that it was no Rash Insur- “ rection, but a Formed Rebellion; which must be “ Prosecuted with a sharp War; the conducting, “ and prosecuting whereof, he wholly committed “ to Their Care and Wisdom, and depended upon “ Them for the carrying it on; and that for the

His Majesty
writes to the
two Houses
about it.

B O O K “ present; He had caused a strong Regiment, of
 IV. “ Fifteen hundred Foot, under good Officers to be
 “ transported out of *Scotland* into *Ulster*, for the
 “ Relief of those Parts:” which were upon the mat-
 ter wholly inhabited by *Scots* and *Irish*; there being
 fewer *English* there, than in any part of *Ireland*.

This fell out to their wish; and thereupon, they
 made a Committee of Both Houses, “ for the con-
 “ sideration of the affairs of *Ireland*, and providing
 “ for the supply of Men, Arms, and Money, for
 “ the Suppressing that Rebellion;” the Lord Lieu-
 tenant of *Ireland* being one of the Committee, which
 sat every morning in the Painted Chamber; and
 the Lord Lieutenant first communicated all the Let-
 ters he received, to Them to be consulted on, and
 to be thence reported to the two Houses; which
 were hereby possessed of a large Power, and De-
 pendance; all men applying themselves to Them,
 that is to the chief Leaders, for their Preferments in
 that War: the Mischief whereof, though in the be-
 ginning little taken notice of, was afterwards felt
 by the King very sensibly.

These concurrent Circumstances, much altered
 and suppressed that good humor and spirit the Houses
 were well disposed to meet in; and the Angry men,
 who were disappointed of the Preferments they
 expected, and had promised themselves, took all
 occasions, by their Emisaries, to insinuate into
 the minds of the People, “ that this Rebellion in
 “ *Ireland*, was contrived and fomented by the
 “ King; or at least by the Queen, for the advance-
 “ ment of Popery; and that the Rebels published

“ and declared, That they had the King’s Authority for all they did:” which Calumny, though without the least Shadow or Color of Truth, made more Impression upon the minds of Sober and Moderate men (who, till that time, had much disliked the Passionate Proceedings of the Parliament) than could be Then imagined, or can Yet be believed. So great a Prejudice, or Want of Reverence, was universally contracted against the Court: especially the Queen; whose Power and Activity was thought too great.

Shortly after the beginning of the Parliament, there had been a Committee appointed, “ to prepare and draw up a general Remonstrance of the state of the Kingdom, and the particular Grievances it had sustained;” but it scarce met, or was ever after spoken of: But now, the Houses no sooner met after the Recess, than Mr. *Strode* (one of the Fiercest men of the Party; and of the Party only for his Fierceness) moved, “ That that Committee might be revived, and ordered to meet;” for which, of course, a time and place was appointed: by which men easily discerned, that nothing of their Fury was abated, but rather increased, in that they found their credit every day lessened in the House, by the opposition and contradiction they sustained. And They being thus disquieted; and knowing little; and so doubting much; every day seemed to them to produce a new Discovery, of some new Treason, and Plot, against the Kingdom. One day, “ a Letter from beyond Seas, of great Forces prepared to Invade *England*;” another, “ of some

B O O K
[IV.]

A Committee
revived for
drawing up a
Remonstrance.

B O O K " Attempt upon the life of Mr. *Pym*:" and no
 IV. occasion omitted to speak of the Evil Council about
 the King; when scarce a Counsellor durst come near
 him; or be suspected to hear from him.

A new Bill
 of the House
 of Commons
 to take away
 Bishops Votes

After some days; a new Bill was presented to the
 House of Commons, "for the taking away the
 " Bishops Votes in Parliament; and for Disabling
 " them to exercise any Temporal Office in the King-
 " dom:" against which was objected, "That it was
 " contrary to the Course and Order of Parliament,
 " that any Bill that had been Rejected, should be
 " again Preferred the same Session; and therefore
 " it ought not to be so much as Read: to which
 " nothing was replied but Noise;" and "that this
 " Bill varied in some clauses from the former; and
 " that the Good of the Kingdom absolutely depended
 " upon it:" and so, by the majority of voices, it
 was ordered to be Read: and afterwards, without
 any very considerable opposition, Passed the House,
 and was transmitted to the Lords: the greatest argu-
 ment being, "That their intermeddling with Tem-
 " poral affairs, was inconsistent with, and destruc-
 " tive to, the exercise of their Spiritual Function."
 Whilst Their Reformation, both in *Scotland*, and
 this Kingdom, was driven on by no men so much,
 as Those of their Clergy who were their Instruments.
 As, without doubt, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*
 had Never so great an Influence upon the Counsels
 at Court, as Dr. *Burgefs*, and Mr. *Marshall*, had
 Then upon the Houses; neither did All the Bishops
 of *Scotland* together, so much meddle in Temporal
 affairs, as Mr. *Henderson* had done.

There being at this time, the Bishoprics of **BOOK**
Worcester, Lincoln, Exeter, Chichester, and Bristol, **IV.**
 Void by Death, or Translation, the King, during **The King**
 the time of his being in *Scotland*, collated to those **fills up divers**
 Sees, *Dr. Prideaux*, the King's Professor of Divinity **vacant Bishop-**
 in *Oxford*; *Dr. Winniff*, Dean of *St. Pauls*; *Dr.* **rics in**
Brownrigg, Master of *Catharine Hall* in *Cambridge*; **England.**
Dr. Henry King, Dean of *Lichfield*; and *Dr. Westfield*
 of Great *St. Bartholomews*, *London*: All of great
 Eminency in the Church; frequent Preachers; and
 not a man, to whom the Faults of the Then Go-
 verning Clergy were imputed, or against whom
 the least Objection could be made.

As soon as the House of Commons heard of this **The Commons**
 designation of his Majesty (having then newly the **offended at it.**
 Second time sent up to the House of Peers, their
 Bill to remove Bishops from thence) They were
 much troubled, that at a time when They resolved to
 take away the Old, the King should presume to
 make New Bishops, and to create so many Voices
 to assist the other; and, therefore, They urged
 very earnestly, "That the Lords might be moved
 "to join with them, in sending to the King, to
 "make no new Bishops, till the Controversy should
 "be ended about the Government of the Church:"
 which appeared so Unreasonable, that the Wisest
 of Them who wished it, apprehended no Possibility
 that the Lords would join with them; or if They
 did: that the King would be prevailed with. How-
 ever, being glad to find their Companions had so
 much mettle, after a long Debate, the major part
 carried it, "That a Committee should be appointed

B O O K “ to draw up Reasons to give the Lords, to concur
IV. “ with Them in that desire to the King:” but,
after that, moved that Stone no further.

In all Debates of this nature, where the Law, Reason, and Common Sense, where directly Opposite to what they proposed, They suffered Those who differed from them in opinion, and purposes, to say what they thought fit in opposition; and then, without vouchsafing to endeavour their satisfaction, called importunately for the Question; well knowing, that, They had a Plurality of Voices to concur with them, in whatsoever they desired. I remember, in this last business, when it was voted that a Committee should be named to draw up Reasons, many of Those who had during the Debate positively argued Against the thing, were called upon to be of that Committee; and amongst them, the Lord *Falkland*, and Mr. *Hyde*: who stood up, and “ desired to be Excused from that Service, where “ they could be of no Use; having given so many “ reasons against it, that they could not apprehend “ any could be given for it; therefore thought, the “ work would be better done, if Those who had “ satisfied Themselves with the Reasonableness of “ what they wished, would undertake the converting and disposing of Other men.” There was a Gentleman who sat by (Mr. *Bond* of *Dorchester*; very Severe, and Resolved, against the Church and the Court) who, with much Passion, and Trouble of mind, said to them, “ For God’s sake be of “ the Committee, You know none of our side “ can give Reasons;” which made Those that

over heard him Smile: though he spoke it suddenly; and upon observation that the Leaders were not then in the House. Otherwise, it cannot be denied, Those who conducted them, and were the Contrivers of the Mischief, were men of great Parts, and unspeakable Industry; and their Silence in some Debates, proceeded partly from Pride, that it might appear, Their Reputation and Interest, had an Influence upon the Sense of the House, against any Rhetoric or Logic: but principally, from the Policy they were obliged to use: for, though they could have given a pregnant reason for the most extravagant overture they ever made, and evinced it, that it was the proper way to Their end; yet, it not being time to discover their purposes (how apparent soever they were to discerning men) they were necessarily to give no reasons at all; or such as were not the true ones.

This Stratagem failing, of stopping the creation of the new Bishops; They endeavour, by all means, to hasten the House of Peers to despatch the work before them, before they should be qualified (their Elections, Confirmations, and Consecrations, and other Ceremonies, spending much time) to increase the number of the Opposers; and for the better doing thereof, with great confidence; They demand of the Lords, "That no Recusant Lord, or any Bishop, might have a Vote in the passing that Act: the last being Parties; and the other not supposed competent Judges on the behalf of the Kingdom." But, when they found that Logic could nor prevail (the demand being indeed so

B O O K
1V.

B O O K Scandalous, that the House of Peers, if they had
 IV. not been fatally misled, must have resented it as a high Presumption, and insolent Breach of Privilege) with more Formality and Color, though as Unreasonably, They pressed, " That those Thirteen " Bishops, whom They had before Impeached, " for making the late Canons; and upon whom " their Lordships themselves had passed Severe " Votes" (such indeed as were fitter for Accusers than Judges, Unparliamentary and Unprecedented) " might be Sequestered from the House, till they " should be brought to Judgment." And for this, They found Lawyers in their House, who, prostituting the Dignity and Learning of their Profession, to the cheap and vile affectation of Popular Applause, were not ashamed, to aver Custom and Law for their Senseless Proposition. But the House of Peers was not Yet deluded enough, or terrified (though too many amongst them paid an implicit devotion to the House of Commons) to comply in this unreasonable demand.

The Animofities at that time between some great Lawyers and some Church-men produced great mischiefs.

And here I cannot but with grief and wonder remember, the Virulency and Animosity expressed at that time, upon all occasions, by Many of good knowledge in the excellent and wise Profession of the Common Law, towards the Church, and Church-men; taking all opportunities, uncharitably, to improve Mistakes into Crimes; and, unreasonably, to transfer and impute the Follies and Faults of Particular men, to the Malignity of their Order and Function; and so, whet and sharpen the edge of the Law, to wound the Church in its Jurisdiction;

and at last to cut it up by the Roots, and demolish its Foundation. It cannot be denied, that the Peevish spirits of some Clergy-men, have taken great pains to alienate that Profession from them; and Others, as unskilfully (finding, that in former times, when the Religion of the State was a Vital part of its Policy, many Church-men were employed Eminently in the Civil Government of the Kingdom) imputed Their wanting those Ornaments their Predecessors wore, to the Power and Prevalency of the Lawyers; of Whom, some Principal men, in all times, They could not but observe to have been their avowed Enemies: and so believed, the Straitening and Confining the Profession of the Common Law, must naturally Extend and Enlarge the Jurisdiction of the Church. Thence arose Their bold and unwarrantable Opposing and Protesting against Prohibitions, and other Proceedings at Law, on the behalf of Ecclesiastical Courts; and the procuring some Orders and Privileges from the King, on the behalf of the Civil Law; even with an exclusion of the other: as the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, prevailed with the King to direct, “that half the Masters of the Chancery should be always Civil Lawyers; and to declare, that no Others, of what condition soever, should serve him as Masters of Request.” All which was a great mistake: For, besides the stopping Prohibitions was an envious Breach upon the Justice of the Kingdom; which at some time or other, will still be too hard for the strongest Opposers and Oppressors of it: I could never yet know, Why

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IV.

the Doctors of the Civil Law, were more of Kin to the Bishops, or the Church, than the Common Lawyers were. To say, that Their Places were in the Bishops disposal, as Chancellors, Commissioners, and the like; and therefore, that their Persons were more like to be at Their disposal too; at least, to pay them greater Reverence; concludes nothing: for the Clergy had opportunity enough, to oblige and create an equal dependance from the Profession of the Common Law; and I am persuaded, the Stewardships to Bishops, and of the Lands of the Church, which were to be managed by the Rules of the Common Law, were not much inferior in Profit to all the Chancellorships in *England*. And then, if, where the Policy may consist with Justice, it is no ill measure in making Friendships, to look into, and compare, the Power of doing Hurt, or doing Good; it is apparent, that the Civil Law in this Kingdom, had not, in the least degree, the ability to Help, or to Hurt the Church, in any exigency, as the Common Law had: Whose Professors had always, by their Interests, Experience, and Reputation, so great an Influence upon the Civil State, upon Court and Country, that they were notable Friends or Enemies. And the Dependance of the Church, as to their Inheritance, and Estates (except their minute Tithes) was entirely upon the Law; being only determinable by those Rules, by which They have seldom received eminent Injustice. And truly, I have never yet spoken with one Clergy-man, who hath had the experience of both litigations, that hath not ingenuously confessed, "he

“ had rather, in the respect of his trouble, charge,
 “ and satisfaction to his understanding, have Three
 “ Suits depending in *Westminster-Hall*, than One
 “ in the Arches, or any Ecclesiastical Court.”

The Particulars above mentioned, were, I confess, to Vulgar minds, great Provocations and Temptations to Revenge: and therefore, I do not at all wonder, that, in the great herd of the Common Lawyers, many Pragmatical spirits, whose thoughts and observations have been contracted to the narrow limits of the few Books of that Profession; or within the narrower Circle of the Bar - Oratory; should go along with the Stream, in the Womanish art of Inveighing against Persons, when they should be Reforming Things: and that some, by degrees, having found the Benefit of being of that Opinion (for we all remember, when Papist and Puritan Lawyers got more Money than their Neighbours, for the Private Opinions they were of; not what they delivered in Public) grew, at last, to have Fits of Conscience in earnest; and to believe, that a Parity in the Church was necessary to Religion; and not like to produce a Parity in the State: of which doctrine if they had been then suspected, they would quickly have been ashamed of such Divinity.

But, that Learned and Unbiaſſed (I mean Unprovoked) men, in that Science of our Law, who knew the Frame and Constitution of the Kingdom, and that the Bishops were no less the Representative Body of the Clergy, than the House of Commons was of the People, and consequently, that the depriving Them of voice in Parliament, was a Violence,

B O O K and removing Landmarks, and not a Shaking (which
IV. might Settle again) but Dissolving Foundations;
which must leave the Building unsafe for habitation: That Such men, who knew the Ecclesiastical and Civil State was so wrought and interwoven together, and, in truth, so incorporated in each other, that the one could not long continue in Prosperity without the other; and that the Professors of the Law were never at so great a height, as even in This time that They so unjustly envied the greatness of the Church: And lastly, That They, who might well know, that the great unwieldy Body of the Clergy, consisting of such different tempers, humors, inclinations, and abilities; and which inevitably will have so strong an Influence upon the nature and affections of the People; could never be Regulated and Governed by any Magistrates but of Themselves; nor by any Rules, but of such Power as the Bishops exercised; Whom (besides all arguments of Piety, and submission to Antiquity) the experience of the Blessed Times Since the Reformation, not to be paralleled in any Nation under Heaven, declared to be the most Happy Managers of that Power, whatsoever rankness and excrescence might have proceeded from some Branches: I say, that these Knowing and Discerning men (for Such I must confess there have been) should believe it possible for Them to flourish, or that the Law itself would have the same respect and veneration from the People, when the well disposed Fabric of the Church should be rent asunder (which, without Their activity and skill in
Confusion,

Confusion, could never have been compassed) hath been to me an Instance of the Divine Anger against the Pride of Both, in suffering them to be the Fatal Engines of Breaking one another: whereas Neither could have been oppressed by any other Strength or Power but Their Own. BOOK
IV.

And I cannot but say, to the Professors of that great and admirable mystery, the Common Law (upon which, no man looks with more affection, reverence, and submission) Who seem Now, by the Fury and Iniquity of the Time, to stand upon the ground they have won, and to be Masters of the Field; and, it may be, Wear some of the Trophies and Spoils They have ravished from the Oppressed; that They have yet but sharpened Weapons for Others to wound them; and that Their Own Arguments and Eloquence, may be, one time or other, applied to Their Own Destruction. And therefore, if they have either Piety, to repent and redeem the ill that they have wrought; or Policy, to Preserve their own condition from Contempt; and Themselves from being Slaves to the most abject of the People; They will at length wind up the Church and the Law into one and the same Interest; and, by a firm and steady pursuit, endeavour to fix Both on the same Foundation, from whence they have been so violently disturbed.

By this time the King was as weary of *Scotland*, as he had been impatient to go thither; finding all things proposed to him, as to a vanquished Person, without consideration of his Honor, or his Interest; and having not one Counsellor about him, but the

B O O K

II.

three hundred thousand pounds paid into the Exchequer to be issued out as his Majesty should direct: a Sum that sufficiently manifested the plenty of that Time, and greater than most Princes in *Europe* could have commanded in so short a time; and was an unanswerable evidence, that the hearts of his Subjects were not then aliened from their duty to the King, or a just jealousy for His honor.

An Army
raised.

All diligence was used in making Levies, in which few of the General Officers which had been employed the Year before were made use of; though it was great pity that the Earl of *Effex* was not again taken in; which had infallibly preserved him from swerving from his Duty, and he would have discharged his trust with Courage and Fidelity, and therefore probably with Success: but he was of a haughty Spirit, and did not think his last Summer's Service so well requited, that he was earnestly to solicit for another Office; though there is no doubt but he would have accepted it if it had been offered.

The Earl of
Northumber-
land made
General.

A General was appointed, the Earl of *Northumberland*; and the Lord *Conway* General of the Horse: which made the great Officers of the former Year, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Effex*, and the Earl of *Holland* (who thought themselves free from any Oversight that had been committed) more capable of Infusions by those who were ready to work according to the Occurrences upon their several constitutions. But the reputation of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had indeed arrived at a wonderful general estimation, was believed to be most instrumental in it: and the Lord *Conway* was

thought an able Soldier, and of great Parts Be- B O O K
sides, the Earls of *Effex* and *Holland* were thought II.
less governable by those Councils to which the
main was then to be intrusted, the Earl of *Straff-*
ford bearing a part in them; to whom the first was
very averse, and the latter irreconcilable.

Despatches were sent into *Ireland* to quicken the
Preparations there, which the Earl had left in a
great forwardness, under the care of the Earl of
Ormond his Lieutenant General: Moneys issued out
for the levies of Horse and Foot there, and for the
making a Train: all which were as well advanced,
as, considering the general Discomposure, could
be reasonably expected.

The King, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the The Lord
Earl of *Strafford*, thought they had well provided Conway
for the worst in making of the Lord Conway to General of the
be General of the Horse: a man very dear to the Horse.
two Earls; and indeed, by a very extraordinary
fate, he had got a very particular interest and esteem
in many Worthy men of very different qualifications.
He had been born a Soldier in his Father's Gar-
rison of the *Brill*, when he was Governor there;
and bred up, in several Commands, under the
particular care of the Lord *Vere*, whose Nephew
he was; and though he was Married young, when
his Father was Secretary of State, there was no
Action of the *English* either at Sea or Land, in
which he had not a considerable Command; and
always preserved a more than ordinary Reputation,
in spite of some great Infirmities, which use to
be a great allay to the credit of active men; for

BOOK condition "They came not near the King's presence;
 IV. "nor received any Benefit from him;" without
 Their approbation) his Majesty gave all the Lands
 of the Church, which had been devolved to Him
 by Its ruin, and whatsoever He had else to give,
 in that Kingdom, to Those who had discovered
 it not to be in good hands before: So that he
 seemed to have made that Progress into *Scotland*,
 only that he might make a perfect Deed of Gift
 of that Kingdom; which he could never have done,
 so absolutely, without going thither. And so,
 having nothing more to do There, He begun his
 journey towards *England* about the middle of
November.

It is not to be doubted, in consideration of those
 Extravagant Concessions, They made as Extrava-
 gant Promises to the King; That by Their Loyal
 and Dutiful comportment, his Majesty should find
 no diminution of his Power; That He should have
 the entire obedience of that Nation, to preserve
 his full Rights and Regalities in *England*; and to
 reduce *Ireland*: The Earl of *Leven* telling him (as
 Marquis *Hamilton* assured me, in His hearing) "that
 " he would not only never more serve Against him;
 " but that whenever his Majesty would require his
 " Service, He should have it without ever asking
 " what the cause was." And many of them whisper-
 ing in his ear, and assuring him, " that as soon as the
 " troubles of the late Storm could be perfectly
 " calmed, They would Reverse and Repeal what-
 " soever was now unreasonably extorted from him."
 And his Majesty having never received any con-

considerable Profit from *Scotland*, cared the less for what he parted with *There*: and, it may be, being resolved *They* should be no more Charge to him in his Court here (for surely he had then very hard thoughts of a great part of the Nation) he believed he should save more in *This Kingdom*, than he had given in *That*; and he made no doubt, but that *They* were so full fed now, that they would not Stir from home again, till the Temper and Affection of his People here, should be better disposed for their reception.

But his Majesty never considered, or not soon enough, that *They* could not reasonably hope to keep what they had so ill got, but by the same arts by which they were such gainers; and there cannot be a surer evidence of the Continuance of an Enemy, than the having received Injuries from him of a nature that do not use to be forgiven. Neither did he sufficiently weigh the unspeakable Encouragement; and, in some particulars, the reasonable Pretence the Factious Party here would have, from the Prosperous Wickedness of *Those* there. And, it is certain, their number from thenceforth increased wonderfully: the Enemies of the Church presuming Their work was more than half done, when the King himself had declared (for his Consent to that Act *They* would easily make appear to be such) “that the Government by Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, was against the Word of God, and the Propagation of Religion.” Many concluding the King would at last Yield to any thing, put themselves in company of the boldest and most positive

B O O K
IV.

Askers; and Some, who in their hearts abhorred what the *Scots* had done, yet disdaining to be overwitted by them; and that They should get more for Themselves, and receive a greater argument of the King's trust, than We of this Nation; out of pure Malice to Them, resolved to do the same things with them; and so joined and concurred in any Exorbitancies. All which the King too late discovered, by the Entertainment he received upon his return.

The Committee for the Remonstrance make an Report in the House of Commons.

About the time the news came of the King's beginning his journey from *Scotland* upon a day appointed; and that he had settled all things in that Kingdom to the general Satisfaction; the Committee for preparing the Remonstrance, offered their Report to the House; which caused the Draught they offered, to be Read. It contained a very bitter Representation, of all the Illegal things which had been done, from the first hour of the King's coming to the Crown, to that minute; with all the sharp Reflections which could be made, upon the King himself, the Queen, and Council; and published all the unreasonable Jealousies of the Present Government, of the introducing Popery; and all other particulars, that might disturb the minds of the People: which were enough discomposed.

The House seemed generally to dislike it; many saying, "that it was very unnecessary, and unseasonable: Unnecessary, all those Grievances being already fully Redressed; and the Liberty and Property of the Subject being as well Secured for the future, as could possibly be done: and Unseasonable, after the King had gratified them, with granting

“ every thing which They had desired of him; B O O K
 “ and after so long absence, in the settling the IV.
 “ Disorders in another Kingdom, which he had
 “ happily composed; to be now welcomed home
 “ with such a volume of Reproaches, for what
 “ Others had done amiss, and which He himself
 “ had reformed.” Notwithstanding all which, all
 the other Party appeared Passionately concerned
 that it might not be rejected; and enlarged them-
 selves with as high expression Against the Govern-
 ment, as at first; with many insinuations, “that we were
 “ in danger of being deprived of all the Good Acts
 “ which we had gained, if great care and vigilance
 “ were not used. to Disappoint some Counsels which
 “ were still entertained;” making some doubtful
 glances and reflections upon the Rebellion in *Ireland*
 (with which they perceived many good men were
 easily amused) and in the end prevailed, “that a day
 “ should be appointed, when the House should
 “ be resolved into a Committee of the whole House,
 “ and the Remonstrance to be then retaken into
 “ consideration:” and in the mean time, They em-
 ployed all their credit and interest with particular
 men, to persuade them, “that the Passing that
 “ Remonstrance was most necessary, for the Pre-
 “ servation and Maintenance of all those good Laws
 “ which They had already made;” giving several
 reasons to several persons, according to their natures
 and inclinations; assuring many, “that They intended
 “ it only for the Mortification of the Court and mani-
 “ festation that that Malignant Party, which appear-
 “ ed to be growing up in in House, could not prevail;”

BOOK and then, " that it should remain still in the Clerk's
IV. " hands, and never be published."

And by these, and the like arts, They promised themselves that they should easily carry it: So that the day it was to be resumed, They entertained the House all the morning with other Debates, and towards noon called for the Remonstrance; and it being urged by some, " that it was too late to " enter upon it, with much difficulty they consented, that it should be entered upon the next " morning at nine of the Clock; and every clause " should be Debated, the Speaker in the Chair;" for They would not have the House resolved into a Committee, which they believed would spend too much time. *Oliver Cromwell* (who at that time, was little taken notice of) asked the Lord *Falkland*, " Why he would have it put off. for that day " would quickly have determined it?" He answered, " There would not have been time enough, for sure " it would take some debate. The other replied, " a very Sorry one:" They supposing, by the computation they had made, that very few would oppose it.

But He quickly found he was mistaken: for the next morning, the Debate being entered upon about Nine of the Clock, it continued all that day; and Candles being called for when it grew dark (neither Side being very desirous to adjourn till the next day; though it was evident, very many withdrew themselves out of pure faintness and disability to attend the conclusion) the Debate continued till it was after Twelve of the

Clock, with much Passion; and the House being **B O O K**
 then divided upon the Passing or Not passing it, it **IV.**
 was carried in the Affirmative, by Nine voices, It was carried
by Nine voices.
 and no more: and as soon as it was declared, Mr.
Hambden moved, " that there might be an Order
 " entered for the present Printing it;" which pro-
 duced a sharper Debate than the former. It appeared
 then, that They did not intend to send it up to the
 House of Peers, for Their concurrence; but that
 it was upon the matter an Appeal to the People;
 and to infuse Jealousies into their minds. It had
 seldom been the custom to Publish any Debates,
 or Determinations of the House, which were not
 regularly first transmitted to the House of Peers; nor
 was it thought in truth, that the House had Authority
 to give warrant for the Printing of any thing; all which
 was offered by Mr. *Hyde*, with some warmth, as
 soon as the motion was made for the Printing it: and
 He said, " He believed the Printing it in that manner,
 " was not Lawful; and He feared it would produce
 " Mischievous effects; and therefore desired the
 " leave of the House, that if the Question should be
 " put, and be carried in the Affirmative, that He
 " might have liberty to enter his Protestation;" which
 he no sooner said, than *Jeffery Palmer* (a man of
 great reputation, and much esteemed in the House)
 stood up, and made the same motion for himself,
 " that he might likewise Protest;" Many afterwards,
 without distinction, and in some disorder, cried
 out together, " They did Protest:" So that there was
 after scarce any quiet and regular Debate. But the
 House by degrees being quieted, They all consented,

B O O K about Two of the Clock in the morning to adjourn
IV. till Two of the Clock the next Afternoon. And as they went out of the House, the Lord *Falkland* asked *Oliver Cromwell*, "Whether there had been a Debate?" to which He answered, "he would take His word "another time:" and whispered him in the ear, with some asseveration, "that if the Remonstrance had "been rejected, He would have sold all he had the "next morning, and never have seen *England* more; "and He knew, there were many other honest men "of the same resolution." So near was the poor Kingdom at that time to its Deliverance.

However They got this Victory, they did not in a long time recover the spirits they lost, and the agony they had sustained, whilst it was in suspense; and they discerned well enough, that the House had not at that time half its Members present; though They had provided, that not a man of Their Party was absent; and that they had even carried it by the hour of the night, which drove away a greater number of old and infirm Opposers, than would have made Those of the Negative Superior in number: So that They had little hope, in a Fuller House, to Prevail in any of their Unjust designs, except they found some other expedient, by hopes or fears to work upon the affections of the several Members.

In order to which, They spent most part of the next day in their Private Consultations, how to Chastise some of Those who offended them the day before; and resolvèd in the first place, not to suffer that Precedent to be introduced into the House, "that men should Protest against the Sense of the

“ House:” which, it is true, had not been used in the House of Commons. This Subject was the more grateful to them, because they should heartily take Revenge upon Mr. *Hyde*, whom they perfectly hated; and to whose activity, they imputed the trouble they had sustained the day before; and He was the First who made the Protestation, that is, asked leave to do it; which produced the other subsequent clamor, that was indeed in some disorder. But here they differed amongst themselves; all the Leading violent men, who bore the greatest sway, were most glad of the occasion, as it gave them opportunity to be rid of Mr. *Hyde*; which they passionately desired: but Sir *John Hotham*, *Cholmondeley*, and *Stapleton* (who never severed, and had a numerous Train attending their motions) remembered the Service Mr. *Hyde* had done against the Court of *York* (the overthrowing whereof was their peculiar glory) and would not consent that they should question Him; but were ready to concur with them in the Prosecution of any other of the Protesters; whereof there was number enough. This made so great a Difference amongst them, that for the present they agreed no further, than “ that they “ would that Afternoon only provide, that the next “ Morning they would fall upon that matter;” and then they might consult together at night, what Person they would Sacrifice.

About Three of the Clock, when the House met, Mr. *Pym* “ lamented the Disorder of the “ night before, which, he said, might probably “ have engaged the House in Blood, and had

B O O K
IV.

“ proceeded principally from the offering a Protestation; which had been never before offered in That House; and was a Transgression that ought to be severely Examined, that Mischief might not result hereafter from that Precedent: and therefore proposed, That the House would the next Morning enter upon that Examination; and in the mean time, men might recollect themselves, and They who used to take Notes, might peruse their Memorials; that the Persons who were the chief causes of the Disorder, might be named, and defend themselves the best they could:” and with this resolution the House arose; the vexation of the night before, being very visible in the looks and countenance of many. Neither that night’s deliberation, nor all the Artifice or Impunity that could be used, could remove the obstinate Northern men from their resolution; They declared positively, “ That if they Prosecuted Mr. *Hyde*, They, and all their Friends, would engage in his Defence:” which made the Others resolve, not to incur the danger or inconvenience of such a Schism; and so they unanimously agreed upon another Person, whom they would accuse.

The next Morning, They first enlarged upon the Offence itself; “ of the Mischief it had like to have produced; and would unavoidably produce, if the custom or liberty of it were ever admitted; That it was the First time it had ever been offered in That House; and that care ought to be taken that it should be the Last; by the severe Judgment of the

“ House, upon Those persons who had begun the BOOK
 “ Presumption. IV.

Mr. Hyde, who had then known nothing of the Private consultation; and had many reasons to believe Himself to be designed; stood up (notwithstanding some Signs made to him at a distance by his Northern Friends, which he understood not) and said “ It concerned him to Justify what he “ had done, being the First man who mentioned “ the Protestation:” upon which, there was a general Noise and Clamor “ to Withdraw; ” and as great, “ to Speak:” He proceeded, and said, “ He “ was not old enough to know the Ancient Customs “ of That House; but, that He well knew, it “ was a very Ancient Customs in the House of “ Peers; and Leave was never denied There to “ any man, who asked that he might Protest, and “ enter his Dissent, against any Judgment of the “ House, to which he would not be understood “ to have given his Consent: That He did not “ understand any reason, why a Commoner should “ not have the same Liberty, if he desired not to be “ involved in any Vote, which he thought might “ possibly be Inconvenient to him. That He had “ not offered his Protestation against the Remon- “ strance, though he had opposed it all he could, “ because it remained still within those Walls; “ That he had only desired leave to Protest against “ the Printing it; which He thought, was not in “ many respects Lawful for Them to do; and might “ prove very Pernicious to the Public Peace.”
 They were very much offended with all he said, and

B O O K
IV.

his assurance in speaking; and Mr. *Strode* could not contain himself from saying, "that That Gentleman had confessed that He had First proposed the Protestation; and therefore desired, He might Withdraw;" which many Others likewise called for: till Sir *John Hotham* appeared with some warmth against it; and young *Hotham*, his Son, accused *Jeffery Palmer* "of giving the cause of Disorder, by saying, *I do Protest*, without asking the Leave of the House; and encouraging Others to cry out every man, *I do Protest*:" whereupon, They all fell into great Noise and Confusion; and so, without much more discourse, Mr. *Palmer* was called upon "to Explain;" which, as He was about to do, Mr. *Hyde* (who loved him much; and had rather have suffered Himself, than that He should) spoke to the Orders of the House, and said, "That it was Against the Orders and Practice of the House, that any man should be called upon to Explain, for any thing he said in the House Two days before; when it could not be presumed, that his Own Memory could Recollect all the words he had used; or, that any body else could Charge him with them; and appealed to the House, whether there was any Precedent of the like." And there is no doubt, there never had been; and it was very Irregular. But They were too positively resolved to be diverted; till, after Two hours Debate, He himself desired, "that, to save the House further trouble, he might Answer, and Withdraw;" which he did. When it drew towards Night, after many hours Debate, it was ordered, "that he should be

“ committed to the Tower; the Angry men pressing, with all their power, that he might be Expelled the House;” having born him a long grudge, for the civility He showed in the Prosecuting of the Earl of *Strafford*; that is, that He had not used the same reproachful Language which the Others had done: but They were at last glad to compound for his bare commitment to the Tower; from whence he was within few days enlarged, and returned again to the House. In the close of that day, and the rising of the House, without much opposition, They obtained an Order for the Printing their Remonstrance.

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The Remon-
strance or-
dered to be
Printed.

That Remonstrance, after many clauses and unbecoming expressions were cast out, contained, “ That there had been, from the Beginning of his Majesty’s Reign, a Malignant and Pernicious Design, of Subverting the Fundamental Laws and Principles of Government, upon which the Religion and Justice of the Kingdom was established: That the Actors and Promoters thereof, were the Jesuited Papists; the Bishops, and Corrupt part of the Clergy; and Such Counsellors and Courtiers, as had engaged themselves to further the Interests of some Foreign Princes or States, to the Prejudice of the King and State at home: All which had endeavoured to raise Differences and Discontents betwixt the King and his People, upon questions of Prerogative and Liberty; to Suppress the Purity of Religion, and Such Men as were best affected to it, as the greatest Impediment to that Change which They thought to introduce; to cherish and maintain those

The substance
of it.

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IV.

“ Opinions in Religion, which brought Ours nearest
“ and most agreeable to the Papists ; and to con-
“ tinue, multiply, and enlarge the Differences
“ between the Protestants themselves, distinguishing
“ between Protestants and Puritans, by introducing
“ and countenancing such Opinions and Ceremonies,
“ as were fittest for accommodation with Popery ;
“ that so, of Papists, Arminians, and Libertines,
“ They might compose a Body, fit to act Such
“ Counsels and Resolutions, as were most condu-
“ cible to Their Own ends: and lastly, to render
“ the King Disaffected to Parliaments, by Slanders
“ and False Imputations, and so putting him upon
“ other ways of Supply, as of more advantage than
“ the ordinary course of Subsidies ; which brought
“ infinite Loss to the King and People, and caused
“ the distractions that ensued.

They remembered “ the Breach of the Parliament
“ at *Oxford* in the First year of his Majesty’s Reign ;
“ and reproached him with the Fruitless Voyage to
“ *Cadiz*, at his first coming to the Crown ; the Loss
“ of *Rochelle*, by first Suppressing Their Fleet with
“ His Own Royal Ships, by which the Protestant
“ Religion in *France* infinitely suffered ; the making
“ a War with *France* precipitately, and a Peace
“ with *Spain*, without Their consent, and so de-
“ serting the Cause of the *Palatinate* ; and with a
“ Design to bring in German Horse, to force the
“ Kingdom, by Violence, to Submit to such
“ Arbitrary Contributions, as should be required
“ of them.”

They remembered him “of Charging the Kingdom
by

“ by Billetting of Soldiers, and by raising of Coat
 “ and Conduct - Money for those Soldiers, in the
 “ Second and Third years of his Reign; of his Dis-
 “ solving the Parliament, in his Second year, after
 “ Their declaration of an intent to grant Five Sub-
 “ sidies; and the exacting those Five Subsidies after-
 “ wards by a Commission of Loan; upon the re-
 “ fusal whereof, divers Gentlemen were Imprisoned,
 “ whereof some Died, by the Diseases they con-
 “ tracted in that Imprisonment; of great Sums raised
 “ by Privy-Seals; and of an attempt to set the Excise
 “ on foot.

They remembered “ the Dissolution of the Parlia-
 “ ment in the Fourth year of his Reign, and the
 “ Untrue and Scandalous Declarations thereupon;
 “ the Imprisoning divers Members of that Parlia-
 “ ment after the Dissolution, and detaining them
 “ close Prisoners for Words spoken in Parliament,
 “ Sentencing and Fining them for those Words; One
 “ of which Died in Prison for want of ordinary
 “ refreshment, whose Blood (They said) still cried
 “ for Vengeance.

They reproached his Majesty “ with Injustice,
 “ Oppression, and Violence, which, after the
 “ Breaking of that Parliament, broke in upon
 “ them, without any restraint or moderation; with
 “ the great Sums of Money he had exacted
 “ throughout the Kingdom for default of Knight-
 “ hood, in the Fourth year of his Reign; with the
 “ receiving Tonnage and Poundage, from the
 “ death of King *James*; and raising the Book
 “ of Rates, and laying New Impositions upon

B O O K “ Trade; with the Enlargement of Forests, and
 IV. “ Compositions thereupon; the ingrossing Gun-
 “ powder, and suffering none to buy it without
 “ Licence; with all the most odious Monopolies of
 “ Soap, Wine, Salt, Leather, Sea-coal, and the
 “ rest ” (which had been granted from his Majesty’s
 first coming to the Crown, and some of them be-
 fore) “ with the new Tax of Ship-money, and the
 “ ill guarding the Seas, and leaving the Merchants
 “ naked to the violence of the *Turkish* Pirates,
 “ notwithstanding that extraordinary and extrava-
 “ gant Supply; with the Vexations upon pretence
 “ of Nuisances in Building, and thereupon raising
 “ great Sums of Money for Licences to Build; and
 “ of Depopulation, that men might pay Fines to
 “ continue the same misdemeanour; with the Seizing
 “ the Merchants Money in the Mint; and an abo-
 “ minable Project of making Brass-Money.

They repeated “ the extravagant Censures of the
 “ Star-Chamber, whereby the Subject had been
 “ oppressed, by Fines, Imprisonments, Stigmati-
 “ zing, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gags,
 “ Confinements, Banishments; the Severe and
 “ Illegal Proceedings of the Council-Table, and
 “ Other new erected Judicatories, and the Suspen-
 “ sions, Excommunications, and Deprivations, of
 “ Learned and Pious Ministers, by the High-Com-
 “ mission-Court; which grew to that Excess of
 “ Sharpness and Severity, that They said it was not
 “ much less than the *Romish* Inquisition.”

They reproached the King “ with the Liturgy
 “ and Canons sent into *Scotland*, as an Attempt upon
 “ the Protestant Religion; with the Forcing that

“ Nation to raise an Army in Their Own Defence,
 “ and raising an Army against Them; with the
 “ Pacification, and Breach of that Pacification; that
 “ He called a Parliament after, in hope to Corrupt
 “ it, and make it Countenance the War with *Scot-*
 “ *land*; which when He found it would Not do,
 “ he Dissolved it, and then committed Members
 “ to Prison; and compelled men to lend Money
 “ against their wills; and Imprisoned such as refused.
 They mentioned “ the Synod held by the Bishops
 “ after the end of the Parliament, and the Canons
 “ and Oath made by them, the raising the Armies,
 “ Here and in *Ireland*, against the *Scots*; and the
 “ liberal Collection and Contribution from the
 “ Clergy, and the Catholics, towards that War;
 “ all the Favors that had been done to the Papists;
 “ the Reception and Entertainment of Seignior *Con*,
 “ and the *Conte Rozetti*, by the Queen, from *Rome*;
 “ and some Ministers sent by her Majesty thither.”

In a word, They left not any Error or Misfortune
 in Government; or any Passionate Exercise of Power,
 unmentioned, or unpressed; with the Sharpest, and
 most Pathetical Expressions to affect the People, that
 the general observation of the Wifest, or the parti-
 cular Animosity of the most Disobliged, or ill Affec-
 ted persons, could suggest, to the Disadvantage of
 the King, from the death of his Father, to the
 unhappy beginning of the present Parliament.

Then They magnified their own Services: “That
 “ having found the Kingdom groaning under these
 “ Difficulties, which seemed to be insuperable, They
 “ had, by the Divine Providence, overcome them

B O O K " all; That They had abolished Ship-money, and
 IV. " all Monopolies; and had taken away that which
 " was the Root of all those Evils, the Arbitrary
 " Power of Taxing the Subject, pretended to be in
 " the King: That the Living Grievances, the Evil
 " Counsellors, were so quelled, by the Justice done
 " on the Earl of *Strafford*; the Flight of the Lord
 " *Finch*, and Secretary *Windebank*; the Accusation
 " and Imprisonment of the Arch-Bishop of *Canter-*
 " *bury*, and other Delinquents; that it was not like
 " to be only an Ease to the present Times, but a
 " Preservation to the Future.

They reckoned up " all the Good Laws, and the
 " Benefit the People received by those Laws; spoke
 " of many Good Designs They had, for the Benefit
 " of the Kingdom: " But then complained, " of
 " Oppositions, and Obstructions, and Difficulties,
 " with which They were encountered, and which
 " still lay in their Way, with some strength, and
 " much obstinacy; That there was a Malignant Party
 " took heart again, that Preferred some of their own
 " Agents and Factors, to Degrees of Honor, and
 " to Places of Trust and Employment. That they
 " had endeavoured to work in his Majesty ill Impres-
 " sions and Opinions of Their Proceedings; as if
 " They had done altogether Their Own Work,
 " and not His; and had obtained many things from
 " him Prejudicial to the Crown, in respect of Prero-
 " gative, and Profit. To wipe out which Slander,
 " They declared, all They had done was for his Ma-
 " jesty, his Greatness, Honor, and Support: That,
 " when They gave five-and-twenty thousand pounds

“ a Month, for the relief of the Northern Counties,
 “ in the support of the *Scottish* Army, It was given
 “ to the King, for that He was bound to Protect
 “ his Subjects; and that, when They undertook
 “ the charge of the Army, which cost above fifty
 “ thousand pounds a Month, It was given to the
 “ King, for that it was his Majesty's Army, and
 “ the Commanders and Soldiers under contract with
 “ Him; and that, when They undertook to Pay
 “ their Brethren of *Scotland* three hundred thousand
 “ pounds, It was to repair the Damages and Losses
 “ They had sustained by his Majesty and his
 “ Ministers; and that those particulars, amounted
 “ to above Eleven hundred thousand pounds.

Then They negligently and perfunctorily passed
 over his Majesty's Graces and Favors; “ as being
 “ little more than in Justice He was obliged to grant;
 “ and of no considerable Loss and Damage to
 “ Himself: and promised the good People shortly
 “ Ease in the matter of Protections (by which, the
 “ Debts from Parliament-men, and their Followers
 “ and Dependants, were not recoverable) and speedily
 “ to pass a Bill to that purpose.

Then They inveighed against the Malignant
 Party, “ that had sought to cause Jealousies between
 “ Them and their Brethren of *Scotland*; and that
 “ had such a Party of Bishops and Popish Lords in
 “ the House of Peers, as hindered the Proceedings
 “ of divers good Bills, Passed in the Commons-
 “ House, concerning sundry great Abuses and Cor-
 “ ruptions both in Church and State” (when, at
 that time, the House of Peers had only refused to

B O O K
IV. concur with them in Two Bills; that of the Proteſtation; and the taking away the Votes of Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers) “ that had attempted to “ Diſaffect and Diſcontent his Maſteſty’s late Army, “ and to bring it up againſt the Parliament, and “ City of *London*; that had raiſed the Rebellion in “ *Ireland*; and, if not by Their Wiſdom prevented, “ had brought the like Miſery and Confuſion in “ this Kingdom.

Then They declared, “ That They meant to “ have a general Synod, of the moſt Grave, Pious, “ Learned, and Judicious Divines, of this Iſland” (when, at that time, there was ſcarce one Orthodox Divine of *England* in reputation with them) “ who, “ aſſiſted by ſome from Foreign Parts, profeſſing “ the ſame Religion, ſhould conſider of all things “ neceſſary for the Peace and good Government “ of the Church; and preſent the reſult of their Conſultations to the Parliament, to be there allowed “ and confirmed: That They would provide a “ competent Maintenance for Conſcientious and “ Preaching Miniſters, throughout the Kingdom: “ That They intended to Reform and Purge the “ Fountains of Learning, the two Univerſities; that “ the Streams flowing from thence might be clear “ and pure, and an Honor and Comfort to the “ whole Land: That his Maſteſty ſhould be Petitioned by Both Houſes, to employ ſuch Counſellors, Ambaſſadors, and other Miniſters, in “ managing his buſineſs at home and abroad, as the “ Parliament have cauſe to conſide in; without “ which, They could not give his Maſteſty ſuch

“ Supplies for His Own support, or such Assistance
 “ for the Protestant Party beyond the Seas, as
 “ was desired. B O O K
IV.

Withal They declared, “ That the Commons
 “ might have cause, often, Justly to take Excep-
 “ tions at some men for being Counsellors, and yet
 “ not charge those men with Crimes ; for that there
 “ are grounds of Diffidence, which lie not in Proof ;
 “ and others, which though they may be Proved,
 “ yet are not Legally Criminal ; as to be a known
 “ Favourer of Papists ; or to have been very forward
 “ in Defending or Countenancing some great Offen-
 “ ders, questioned in Parliament ; or to speak Con-
 “ temptuously of Either House of Parliament, or
 “ Parliamentary Proceedings ; or Such as are sus-
 “ pected to get Counsellors Places, or any other of
 “ trust concerning Public Employment, for Money :
 “ That all good courses may be taken, to Unite
 “ the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* ; to
 “ be mutually aiding and assisting one another, for
 “ the Common Good of the Island, and the Honor of
 “ Both : With some other particulars of this nature.”

I know not how Those men have already answer-
 ed it to Their Own Consciences ; or how they will
 answer it, to Him who can discern their Consciences ;
 who having assumed their Countries Trust, and,
 it may be, with great Earnestness labored to pro-
 cure that Trust, by their Supine Laziness, Negli-
 gence, and Absence, were the First Inlets to those
 Inundations ; and so contributed to those Licences
 which have overwhelmed us. For, by this means,
 a Handful of men, much inferior in the beginning,

The ways by
 which the
 Party gerw
 in the House
 of Commons.

B O O K

IV.

in number and interest, came to give Laws to the Major part, and to show that Three Diligent persons, are really a Greater and more Significant number, than Ten Unconcerned, They, by Plurality of Voices, in the end, converted or reduced the Whole Body to Their opinions. It is true, Men of Activity and Faction, in any design, have many Advantages, that a Composed and Settled Council, though industrious enough, usually have not; and some that Gallant men cannot give themselves leave to entertain: for, besides Their thorough considering and forming their Counsels before they execute them; They contract a habit of ill Nature and Disingenuity necessary to Their affairs, and the temper of Those upon whom they are to work, that Liberal-minded men would not persuade themselves to entertain, even for the Prevention of all the Mischief the Others intend. And whosoever observes, the ill Arts by which These men used to prevail upon the People in general; Their absurd, ridiculous Lying, to win the affections, and corrupt the understandings, of the Weak; and the bold Scandals, to confirm the Wifful; the boundless Promises They presented to the Ambitious; and Their gross, abject Flatteries, and Applications. to the Vulgar-spirited, would hardly give himself leave to use those Weapons, for the Preservation of the Three Kingdoms.

The King had at that time a greater Disadvantage (besides the concurrence of ill and extraordinary accidents) than Himself, or any of his Progenitors, had ever had before; having no Servant of the

House of Commons, of Interest, Ability, and Reputation, and of Faithfulness and Affection to his Service: Sir *Thomas Jermyn*, who was very Honest to him, and of good Abilities, through his indisposition of health, and trouble of mind for his Son's misfortune, having left the House, and the Court, and being retired into the Country; and Sir *Henry Vane* (who was the other only Privy-Counsellor) having committed those Faults to the King, he knew could not be forgiven; and those Faults to the Country, could not be forgotten; gave himself entirely to the disposition of the new Masters: and Mr. *Saint John*, who at the beginning was made Solicitor General; and thereby, had obliged himself by a particular Oath, "to Defend his Majesty's Rights; and in no case to be of Counsel, or give Advice, to the Prejudice of the King, and the Crown;" was the Chief Instrument, to Devise and Contrive all the Propositions, and Acts of Undutifulness towards him. So that, whilst These men, and Their Consorts, with the greatest deliberation, consulted, and disposed themselves to compass Confusion: They, who out of the most abstracted Sense of Loyalty to the King, and Duty to their Country, severed from any relations to the King's service, or hopes from the Court, preserved their own Innocence, and endeavoured to uphold the good old frame of Government, received neither countenance nor conduct from Those who were naturally to have taken care of that province. And sure, the Raging and Fanatic Distemper of the House of Commons (to which all other distempers are to be imputed)

BOOK IV. must most properly be attributed, to the Want of Such good Ministers of the Crown in that Assembly, as being Unawed by any Guilt of their Own, could have watched Other men's; and informed, encouraged, and influenced, Those, who stood well inclined to the Public Peace.

To which purpose, if that Stratagem (though none of the best) of winning men by Places, had been practised, as soon as the resolution was taken at *York* to call a Parliament (in which, it was apparent, dangerous attempts would be made; and that the Court could not be able to resist those attempts) and if Mr. *Pym*. Mr. *Hambden*, and Mr. *Hollis*, had been then Preferred, with Mr. *Saint-John*; before they were desperately embarked in their desperate designs; and had Innocence enough about them, to trust the King, and be trusted by him; having yet contracted no Personal animosities against him: it is very possible, that They might either have been made Instruments to have done good Service; or at least been restrained, from endeavouring to Subvert the Royal Building, for supporting whereof They had been placed as principal Pillars.

But the Rule the King gave himself (very reasonable at any other time) that They should First do Service, and compass this or that thing for him, before they should receive Favor, was Then very unseasonable: since, besides that They could not in truth do him that Service without the qualification, it could not be expected They would desert that Side, by the Power of which They were sure to make themselves considerable, without an unques-

tionable mark of interest in the Other, by which B O O K
 They were to keep up their Power and Reputation: IV.
 and so, whilst the King expected They should
 manifest their inclinations to His Service, by their
 Temper and Moderation in those Proceedings that
 most offended him; and They endeavoured, by
 doing all the Hurt they could, to make evident the
 Power They had to do him Good; He grew so
 far Disobliged, and provoked. that he could not in
 Honor Gratify them; and They so Obnoxious,
 and Guilty, that they could not think themselves
 Secure in his Favor: and thence, according to the
 Policy and Method of Injustice, continued to Op-
 press that Power They had Injured; and to raise a
 Security for Themselves, by Disabling the King to
 question their transgressions.

Notwithstanding all these Contrivances, to Lessen
 the Reputation of the Court (to which many other
 particulars contributed; which will be touched here-
 after) The City of *London* made great Preparations
 to receive the King. *Gourney*, then Lord Mayor,
 was a man of Wisdom, and Courage; and expressed
 great Indignation, to see the City so Corrupted,
 by the ill artifices of Factionous persons; and there-
 fore attended upon his Majesty, at his entrance
 into the City, with all the Lustre and good Coun-
 tenance it could show; and as great professions
 of Duty, as it could make, or the King expect.
 And on *Thursday*, the Five-and-Twentieth of
November, the King entered into *London*; received
 with the greatest acclamations of Joy, that had
 been known upon any occasion; and after a

The King's
 Reception
 in London
 upon his re-
 turn out of
 Scotland,
 Nov. 25.

B O O K most magnificent Entertainment, by Sir *Richard*
IV. *Gourney* Lord Major, at the *Guild - Hall*; where
 the King, Queen, Prince, and the whole Court,
 of Lords and Ladies, were Feasted; his Majesty
 was attended by the whole City to *White - Hall*;
 where he lodged that night; and the Earl of *Essex*
 resigned his Commission, of General on this side
Trent; which had been granted for the Security
 of the Kingdom, at his Majesty's going into the
 North.

Sir H. Vane
 turned out
 from being
 Secretary of
 State.

The next day, the King went to *Hampton-Court*;
 and as soon as he came thither, took away the
 Seals from Sir *Henry Vane* (having before taken
 away his Staff of Treasurer of the Household from
 him, and conferred it upon the Lord *Savile*, in lieu
 of the Presidentship of the North; which he was to
 have had, if Both Houses had not declared that Com-
 mission to be illegal) and appointed the Guards, that
 were kept at *Westminster* for the Security of the two
 Houses, ever since the News out of *Scotland*, to be
 dismissed; and shortly after published a Proclama-
 tion, "for Obedience to be given to the Laws
 " established, for the exercise of Religion."

A Petition
 presented to
 the King, to-
 gether with
 the Remon-
 strance, on
 Decemb. 1.
 and Printed.

These proceedings of his Majesty, much troubled
 the Managers in the House; and the Entertainment
 given to him by the City of *London*, in which Their
 entire confidence was, much dejected them; and
 made them apprehend, their Friends There were
 not so Powerful as They expected: However,
 They seemed to abate nothing of their mettle; and
 shortly after his return, resolved to present Their
 Remonstrance, lately framed, to him, together with a

Petition; in which, They complained “ of a Malignant Party, which prevailed so far, as to bring divers of Their Instruments to be of his Privy-Council; and in other employments of trust and nearness about his Majesty, the Prince, and the rest of his Children: to which Malignant Party, amongst other wickedness, They imputed the Insurrection of the Papists in *Ireland*; and therefore, for the Suppressing that Wicked and Malignant Party, They besought his Majesty, that He would concur with his People, in a Parliamentary way, for the depriving the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament” (when at that time the Bill to that purpose had not passed the House of Peers) “and abridging Their immoderate power over the Clergy; and for the removing unnecessary Ceremonies, by which divers weak Consciences had been scrupled; That He would remove from his Council Such Persons, as persisted to favor any of those Pressures wherewith the People had been grieved; and that He would for the future employ Such persons in the Public affairs, and take Such to be near him in Places of trust, as his Parliament might have cause to confide in; and that He would reject, and refuse, all mediation and solicitation to the contrary, how powerful and near soever; That He would forbear to alienate any of the Forfeited Escheated Lands in *Ireland*, which should accrue to the Crown by reason of this Rebellion. Which Desires of Theirs being graciously fulfilled by his Majesty (They said) They would apply themselves to such Courses and Counsels, as should

B O O K “ support his Royal Estate, with Honor and Plenty
 IV. “ at home, with Power and Reputation abroad;
 “ and by Their Loyal Affections and Service, lay a
 “ sure and lasting foundation of the Greatness and
 “ Prosperity of his Majesty, and his Royal Posterity
 “ in future times.”

This Petition, together with the Remonstrance, was presented at *Hampton Court*, on the First day of *December*; and within few days after, both the Petition and Remonstrance were by Order Printed, and with great industry Published throughout the Kingdom. Albeit the King, at the receipt thereof, desired them not to publish either, till He should send his Answer: which he did shortly after, expressing;

The King's
 Answer to
 the Petition.

“ How sensible He was of that Disrespect; reprehending them for the Unparliamentariness of their Remonstrance in Print; whereof” (He said) “He would reserve to himself to take such course, as He should think fit, in Prudence and Honor.” But to their Petition, He told them, “That if They would make that Wicked and Malignant Party, whereof they complained, known to his Majesty, He would be as ready to Suppress and Punish it, as They could Be to Complain; That by those Counsellors whom He had exposed to Trial, He had given sufficient testimony, that there was no man so near him, in place or affection, whom he would not leave to the Justice of the Law, if They should bring sufficient Proofs, and a particular Charge against him; in the mean time, He wished them to forbear such general Aspersions, as since they named None in Particular, might reflect upon

“ All his Council ; That for the Choice of his Coun-
“ fellows, and Ministers of State, it was the natural
“ Liberty all Freemen have, and the undoubted
“ Right of the Crown, to call Such to Secret Council,
“ and Public Employment, as He should think fit;
“ yet He would be careful to make election of Such,
“ as should have given good testimonies of their
“ Abilities and Integrity, and against Whom, there
“ could be no just cause of Exception; That for
“ the depriving the Bishops of their Votes in Parlia-
“ ment, They should consider, that Their Right,
“ was grounded upon the Fundamental Law of the
“ Kingdom, and constitution of Parliament.

“ For what concerned Religion, Church-Govern-
“ ment, and the removing unnecessary Ceremonies,
“ if the Parliament should advise him to call a Na-
“ tional Synod, He should consider of it, and give
“ them due Satisfaction therein; declaring His reso-
“ lution, to maintain the Doctrine and Discipline
“ established by Law, as well against all invasions
“ of Popery, as from the irreverence of Schismatics
“ and Separatists; wherewith, of late, this Kingdom
“ and this City abounds, to the great dishonor and
“ hazard both of Church and State; for the Sup-
“ pression of whom, his Majesty required Their
“ timely and active assistance.

“ To Their desire concerning *Ireland*, He told
“ them, He much doubted, whether it was Season-
“ able to declare resolutions of that nature, before
“ the events of the War were seen; however, He
“ thanked them for their advice; and conjured
“ them, to use all possible diligence and expedition in

B O O K “ advancing the Supplies thither ; the Insolence and
 IV. “ Cruelty of the Rebels daily increasing.”

The graciousness and temper of this Answer, made no Impression on them ; but They proceeded in their usual manner ; framing and encouraging , underhand, those whispers, by which the Rebellion in *Ireland*, might be understood to receive some extraordinary countenance from the Court of *England*, the scandal whereof, They knew, would quickly fall upon the Queen.

At this time, the diligence and dexterity of the Lord Mayor, caused an Address to be prepared to his Majesty, from the Court of Aldermen ; which was sent by the two Sheriffs, and two Others of that Body ; by which, “ his Majesty was humbly “ desired to reside at *White-Hall* :” which angered the Governing Party , as much as Their kind reception had done. The Petition was graciously received , all the Aldermen Knighted ; and the Court, within a day or two, removed to *White-Hall*.

Affairs in
Ireland.

The Letters out of *Ireland* were very importunate for relief, of Men, Money, and Provisions ; the Rebels very much increasing and taking courage, from the slow proceeding Here for their suppression : which indeed was not advanced equal to men’s expectations ; though the King, upon his first coming to the Houses after his return from *Scotland*, with great earnestness recommended it to them. Only, the Propositions made from *Scotland*, “ for the “ sending ten thousand men from Thence, into *Ulster*, “ to be paid by the Parliament,” were consented to ; whereby some Soldiers were despatched thither,

to defend Their Own Plantation; and did in truth, at Our Charge, as much Oppress the *English* that were There, as the Rebels could have done; and had upon the matter the sole Government of that Province committed to them, the chief Towns and Garrisons which were kept by *English* being delivered into Their hands. The Lieutenant himself, the Earl of *Leicester* (who was now grown gracious to the Managers) made not that haste to his Charge some men thought necessary; pretending “ that the “ Rebels had Yet some apprehensions and terror “ of His coming thither with great Forces, and “ Provisions of all kinds; but that if They should “ hear He were Landed, with so small a Strength as “ was yet raised, and in no better Equipage than “ he was yet able to go in, They would take Courage, and would Oppress him, before more Successors could come; by reason, that They who yet “ stood upon their guard, and publicly sided not “ with Either (till, by the resistance and opposition “ They found prepared for them, they might guess “ Who was like to prevail) would Then freely declare, and join with the rest.”

The slow levying of Men, was imputed to the Difficulty of getting Volunteers: Their numbers, who had Commission, upon beating Drums, rising very inconsiderably; and therefore, They prepared a Bill for Pressing; which quickly passed the Commons, and was sent up to the Lords. It cannot be supposed, that there could be Then a Scarcity of Men, or that it could be hard, within three Months after the Disbanding the Northern Army, to bring

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A Bill prepared in the House of Commons for Pressing men for Ireland

B O O K together as Many men as they had occasion to use:
 IV; but Their business was to get Power, not Men;
 and therefore, this Stratagem was used, to transfer
 the Power of Pressing men from the King to Them-
 selves; and to get the King, that He might be Now
 Able to raise men for *Ireland*, to Disable himself
 from Pressing upon any Other occasion. For, in
 the Preamble of this Bill which They sent up to the
 Lords (as They had done before, the first Act for
 Tonnage and Poundage) They declared, " That
 " the King had in no case, or upon any occasion,
 " but the Invasion from a Foreign Power, Autho-
 " rity to Press the Free-born Subject; which could
 " not consist with the Freedom and Liberty of his
 " person."

The Preamble
 of the Bill,
 as it came
 from the Com-
 mons, ex-
 cepted against
 in the House
 of Lords.

This doctrine was new to the Lords, and contrary
 to the usage and custom of all times; and seemed
 to Them a great Diminution of that Regal Power,
 which was necessary for the Preservation of his own
 Subjects, and Assistance of his Allies; which in
 many cases He was bound to yield. And the Attorney
 General took the Courage, " to desire the Lords"
 (as He should often have done in other cases) " that
 " He might be heard, on the King's behalf, before
 " They consented to a Clause so Prejudicial to the
 " King's Prerogative." This necessary stop was no
 sooner made, than the Commons laid aside the con-
 sideration of *Ireland*; ordered their Committee, " to
 " meet no more about that business;" the Levies which
 were then making of Volunteers, stood still; and They
 declared " that the Loss of *Ireland* must be imputed to
 " the Lords." On the other side, the Lords too well

understood that Logic, to be moved by it; and were rather sensible of the Inconveniencies They had incurred, by Their former Compliance, than inclined to repeat the same error. BOOK
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In the mean time, Letters came every day from *Ireland*, passionately bemoaning Their condition; and multitudes of Men, Women, and Children, who were despoiled of their Estates, and forced into this Kingdom for want of Bread, spoke more lamentably than the Letters. In this strait, They knew not what to do; for whatever discourse They pleased Themselves with, concerning the Lords, it was evident the Fault would lie at Their Own doors: besides that, his Majesty might make use of That occasion, to take the whole business out of Their hands, and manage it Himself by his Council; which would both lessen Their reputation and interest, and indeed defeat much of what They had projected.

Hereupon, Mr. *Saint-John*, the King's Solicitor Saint-John
advises the
King to offer
an Expedient. (a man that might be trusted in any company) went privately to his Majesty; and seemed to Him much troubled, "at the Interruption given by the Com-
mons, and to grant, that the Preamble was
Unreasonable, and ought to be insisted against
by the Lords, on the behalf of his Majesty's
Prerogative: However," He told him, "since He
thought it impossible to rectify the Commons in
their understandings, it would be a great blessing
to his Majesty, if He could offer an Expedient
to remove that Rub, which must prove fatal
to *Ireland* in a short time; and might grow to such

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“ a Disunion between the two Houses, as might much cloud the happiness of This Kingdom; and undoubtedly, could not but have a very Popular Influence upon Both, when Both Sides would be forwarder to acknowledge his Majesty’s great Wisdom and Piety, than they could be now made to retract any thing that was Erroneous in Themselves:” and then “ advised him to come to the Houses; and to express His Princely Zeal for the relief of *Ireland*; and taking notice of the Bill for Pressing, depending with the Lords, and the Dispute raised, concerning that ancient and undoubted Prerogative, to avoid further Debate, to offer, that the Bill should Pass with a *Salvo Jure*, both for the King and People; leaving such Debates to a time that might better bear it.”

The King
puts it in
practice.

The Lords
and Commons
declare this
to be a
Breach of
Privilege,
in a Petition
to the King.

Which advice his Majesty followed; and coming to the House said the very words He had proposed to him. But now Their business was done (which truly, I think, no other way could have been compassed) the Divided Lords and Commons presently Unite themselves, in a Petition to the King; “ acknowledging His Royal Favor and Protection to be a great Blessing and Security to them, for the enjoying and preserving all those private and public Liberties and Privileges which belong unto them; and whensoever any of those Liberties or Privileges should be invaded, They were bound, with humility and confidence, to resort to his Princely justice for redress and satisfaction; because the Rights and Privileges of Parliament,

“ were the Birth-right and Inheritance, not only of
“ Themselves, but of the whole Kingdom, wherein
“ every one of his Subjects was interested: That
“ amongst the Privileges of Parliament, it was Their
“ ancient and undoubted Right, that his Majesty
“ ought not to take notice of any matter in agi-
“ tation and debate, in Either House of Parliament,
“ but by their information and agreement; and
“ that his Majesty ought not to propound any
“ condition, provision, or limitation, to any Bill,
“ or Act, in debate or preparation, in Either House
“ of Parliament; or to declare His consent or dissent,
“ His approbation or dislike, of the same, before
“ it be presented to him in due course of Parliament.
“ They declared, That all those Privileges had been
“ lately broken, to Their great sorrow and grief,
“ in that Speech which his Majesty had made to
“ them; wherein He took notice of a Bill for Pressing
“ of Soldiers, not yet agreed upon; and offered a
“ *Salvo Jure*, and provisional clause, to be added
“ to it, before it was presented to him: and there-
“ fore They besought him, by his Regal Power to
“ Protect them, in Those and the Other Privileges
“ of his High-Court of Parliament; and that He
“ would not, for the time to come, break or
“ interrupt them; and that, for the Reparation of
“ them in that Their Grievance and Complaint, He
“ would declare and make known the Name of such
“ Person, by whose Misinformation, and Evil
“ Counsel, his Majesty was induced to the same,
“ that he might receive condign Punishment And
“ this They did desire, and as his greatest and most

B O O K “ faithful Council did advise, his Majesty to perform;
 IV. “ as a great advantage to him, by procuring and
 “ confirming a Confidence and Unity betwixt his
 “ Majesty and his People, &c.”

And having delivered this Petition, They no more considered *Ireland*, till this manifest Breach should be repaired; which They resolved nothing should do, but the Passing the Bill: and therefore, when the King offered, by a message sent by the Earl of *Essex*, “ That He would take care, by Commissions “ which He would grant, that ten thousand *English* “ Volunteers, should be speedily raised, for the “ service of *Ireland*, if the Houses would declare “ that They would Pay them;” the overture was wholly rejected: They neither being willing that such a Body of Men should be raised by the King’s direction (which would probably be more at His devotion than They desired) nor in any other way than They proposed: and so in the end (after other ill Accidents intervening, which will be remembered in order) He was compelled to Pass the Bill concerning Pressing which They had prepared.

Whereupon,
 the Bill con-
 cerning press-
 ing, Passed.

However, for all this, and the better, it may be, for all this; the King, upon his arrival at *White-Hall*, found Both his Houses of Parliament of a much better Temper than they had been; Many having great Indignation, to see his Majesty so ill treated by his Own Servants, and Those, who were most obliged to his Bounty and Magnificence; and likewise to discern, how much Ambition and Private Interest, was covered under Public Pretences. They who were in truth Zealous, for the Preservation

of the Laws, the Religion, and true Interest of the Nation, were solicitous to Preserve the King's Honor from any indignity, and his Regal Power from violation; and so always opposed Those who intrenched upon Either, and who could compass their ends by no other means than by trampling upon Both. So that, in truth, that which was called the King's Party, in Both Houses, was made up of Persons who were Strangers, or without any Obligation, to the Court; of the best Fortunes, and the best Reputation, in their severall Counties where they were known; as having always appeared very Zealous in the maintenance of their Just Rights, and Opposed, as much as in Them lay, all Illegal and Grievous Impositions: whilst His own Privy-Council (Two or Three only excepted) and much the greater number of all his own Servants, either Publicly Opposed, or Privately Betrayed him; and so much the more virulently abhorred all Those who now appeared to carry on His Service, because They presumed to undertake, at least endeavour (for They undertook nothing, nor looked for any Thanks for their labor) to do that which Themselves ought to have done; and so They were upon this Disadvantage, that whenever They pressed any thing in the House, which seemed immediately to advance the King's Power and Authority, some of the King's Council, or his Servants, most opposed it, under the notion "of being Prejudicial to the King's Interest:" whilst They who had used to govern and impose upon the House, made a show of being more modest, and yet were more insolent; and endea-

B O O K voured, by setting new Counsels on foot, to entangle,
IV. and engage, and indeed over-reach the House; by cozening them into Opinions which might hereafter be applicable to Their Ends, rather than to pursue Their old Designs, in hope to obtain in the end a Success by their Authority. The Night of the Remonstrance had humbled them in that point: and from that time, They rather contrived ways to Silence those who opposed them; by traducing them Abroad, or taking advantage against them in the House, for any Expressions they used in Debate which might be misinterpreted; and so calling them to the Bar, or committing them to the Tower: which did in truth strike such a Terror into the minds of many, that They forbore to come to the House, rather than expose themselves to many Uneasinesses there.

A Proposal
 in the House
 of Commons,
 for a Com-
 mittee to
 consider of
 the Present
 State and
 Power of the
 Militia:

There was at this time, or thereabout, a Debate started in the House, as if by mere chance, which produced many Inconveniencies after; and, if there had not been too many concurrent causes, might be thought the sole cause and ground of all the Mischiefs that ensued. Upon some report or discourse of some Accident, which had happened upon or in the Disbanding the late Army, an obscure Member moved, " That the House would enter upon
 " the consideration, Whether the Militia of the
 " Kingdom was so Settled by Law, that a Sudden
 " Force or Army could be drawn together, for
 " the Defence of the Kingdom if it should be
 " Invaded, or to Suppress any Insurrection or
 " Rebellion if it should be attempted.

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The House kept a long Silence after the motion, the newness of it amusing most men, and few in truth understanding the meaning of it; until one and another of the Members, who were least taken notice of, seeming to be moved by the weight of what had been said, enlarged upon the same Argument: and in the end it was proposed, "That a Committee might be appointed, to consider of the Present State of the Militia, and to prepare such a Bill for the Settling it, as might provide for the Public Peace, and for the Suppressing any Foreign Enemy, or Domestic Insurrection."

Hereupon, They were inclined to nominate a Committee, to prepare such a Bill as should be

This debated:

thought necessary: Upon which, Mr. *Hyde* spoke against the making any such Committee; and said, "There could be no doubt, that the Power of the Militia resided in the King, in Whom the Right of making War and Peace was invested; that there had never Yet appeared any Defect of Power, by which the Kingdom had been in Danger, and we might reasonably expect the same Security for the future." With which the House seemed well

satisfied, and composed, and inclined to go on upon some other Debate; until *Saint-John*, the King's Solicitor, and the Only man in the House of his

Learned Council, stood up, and said, "He would not suffer that Debate in which there had been so many weighty particulars mentioned to be discontinued without some Resolution; That He would be very glad there were that Power in the

and Sol.
Gen. Saint-
John de-
clares the
Power of it
Not to be in
the King;

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“ King (whose Rights He was bound to defend)
“ as the Gentleman who spoke last seemed to
“ imagine; which for His part He knew there was
“ not; That the question was not about taking
“ away Power from the King, which was vested
“ in him (which was his Duty always to oppose)
“ but to inquire, whether there be Such a Power
“ in him, or any where else, as is necessary for
“ the Preservation of the King and the People,
“ in many cases that may fall out; and if there be
“ not, then to supply him with that Power and
“ Authority;” and said, “ He did take upon him
“ with confidence to Affirm, That there was a
“ Defect of Such Power and Authority:” He put
them in mind, “ how that Power had been executed
“ in the Age in which we live; That the Crown
“ had granted Commissions to great men, to be
“ Lord Lieutenants of Counties; and They, to
“ Gentlemen of Quality to be their Deputy-Lieute-
“ nants; and to Colonels, and other Officers, to
“ Conduct and Lift Soldiers; and then He wished
“ them to consider, what Votes They had passed,
“ of the Illegality of all those Commissioners, and
“ of the Unjustifiableness of all the Proceedings
“ which had been by virtue of those Commissions;
“ So that let the Occasion or Necessity be what
“ it would, He did presume, no man would
“ hereafter Execute any such Commission; and
“ if there were any man so hardy, that nobody
“ would Obey them; and therefore desired Them
“ to consider, whether there be not a Defect of
“ Power, and whether it ought not to be supplied.

It was now evident enough, that the Debate was not begun by chance, but had been fully deliberated; and what Use they would make upon occasions, of those Volumes of Votes, They had often poured out upon all accidental Debates; and no man durst take upon him to Answer all that had been alleged, by saying, all those Votes were of no Validity; and that the King's Right was, and would be judged the same it had been before, notwithstanding those Votes; which is very true: But this being urged by the King's own Solicitor, They appointed Him "to bring in and prepare such a Bill as He thought necessary;" few men imagining, that such a Sworn Officer would not be very careful and tender of all his Master's Prerogatives, which He was expressly Sworn to defend.

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He is appointed to bring in a Bill to settle that matter,

Within few days after, He brought in a very short Bill; in which was mentioned by way of Preface, "That the Power over the Militia of the Kingdom was not Settled, in any such manner, that the Security of the Kingdom was provided for, in case of Invasion, or Insurrection, or any sudden Accidents;" and then an Enacting clause, "That henceforward the Militia, and all the Power thereof, should be vested in—&c;" and then a large Blank left, for inserting Names; and afterwards, "the absolute Authority to Execute—&c." The ill meaning whereof was easily understood; and with some warmth pressed: "That by this Bill, all the Power would be taken out of the Crown, and put into the hands of Commissioners." To which the Solicitor made Answer, "That the Bill took no

which he does:

B O O K " Power from any body who had it, but provided
 IV. " to give Power where it was not; nor was there
 " mention of any Commissioners; but a Blank was
 " therefore left, that the House might fill it up as
 " They thought fit, and put the Power into Such
 " hands as They thought proper; which, for ought
 " He knew, might be the King's; and He hoped it
 " would be so."

The Bill re-
 ceived.

And with this answer the Bill was received, notwithstanding all opposition, and Read: all Those persons who had been formerly Deputy-Lieutenants, and lay under the Terror of that Vote, presuming, that this Settlement would provide for the Indemnity of all that had passed before; and the Rest, who might still be exposed to the same hazards, if they should be required to act upon the like occasions, concurring in the desire, that somewhat might be done for a general Security; and They who had contrived it, were well enough contented that it was Once read; not desiring to prosecute it, till some more favorable conjuncture should be offered: and so it rested.

The King dis-
 misses Sir Wil-
 liam Balfour
 from being
 Lieutenant of
 the Tower.

About this time, the King not being well satisfied in the affection or fidelity of Sir *William Balfour*; whom He had some years before, to the great and general Scandal, and Offence of the *English* Nation, made Lieutenant of the Tower; and finding that the Seditious Preachers every day prevailed in the City of *London*, and Corrupted the Affections and Loyalty of the meaner People towards the Government of the Church and State; resolved to put that Place (which some men fancied to be a Bridle upon

the City) into the Hands of Such a man as He might rely upon : and yet, He was willing to be quit of the Other, without any act of Disobligation upon him; and therefore gave him three thousand pounds, ready Money, which was raised by the Sale of some of the Queen's own Jewels: and immediately caused Colonel *Lunsford* to be Sworn in his place, Lieutenant of the Tower.

This was no sooner known, than the House of Commons found themselves concerned in it; and upon pretence "that so excellent a person, as Sir *William Balfour*" (who in truth was very gracious to them, for the safe keeping the Earl of *Strafford*) "could not be removed from that Charge, but upon some eminent Design against the City and the Kingdom; and that the man who was appointed for his Successor was a person of great Licence, and known only by some desperate acts; for which he had been formerly Imprisoned by the State, and having made his escape, fled the Kingdom: They desired the Lords to join with Them in a Petition to the King, to put the Tower into Better hands;" making such arguments against the Person of the man, as before spoken of. The Lords replied to them, "That it was an argument of that nature, They thought not themselves competent Advisers in it; the custody of the Tower being solely at the King's disposal, who was Only to judge of the Fitness of the Person for such a Charge:" But, at the same time that They refused to join in a Public Desire to the King, They intimated Privately Their Advice to him, "That He should make choice of a Fitter

Colonel Lunsford put in his place.

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The Colonel
resigns, and
Sir John Byron
is put in.

“ Person, against whom no Exceptions could be made.” For indeed, Sir *Thomas Lunsford* was not then known enough, and of reputation equal to so invidious a province; and thereupon, within two or three days at most, He resigned the Place, and the King gave it Sir *John Byron*.

This gave them no Satisfaction in the Change, since it had no reference to Their Recommendation; which They only looked after: but it gave them great delight, to see that the King's Counsels were not so fixed, but Their Clamor might alter them; and that doing Hurt, being as desirable a degree of Power, to some men, as doing Good, and likely to gain them more Profelytes, They had Mattered a man, though They could not Make one. And without doubt, it was of great Disadvantage to the King, that That Counsel had not been formed with such deliberation, that there would need no alteration; which could not be made, without a kind of Recognition.

Touching the
Bill against the
Bishops Votes,
depending in
the House of
Peers.

All this time, the Bill depended in the Lords House, “ for the taking away the Votes of Bishops, “ and removing them from the House of Peers,” which was not like to make a more prosperous progress there, than it had six Months before; it being evident, that the Jurisdiction of the Peerage was invaded by the Commons; and therefore, that it was not reasonable to part with any of their Supporters. But the Virulence against them still increased; and no Churches frequented, but where They were Preached against, as Anti-Christian; The Presses swelled with the most virulent Invectives against them; and a Sermon was Preached at *Westminster*,

and afterwards Printed, under the Title of *The Protestation Protested*, by the infamous *Burton*, wherein He declared, "That all men were obliged by their late Protestation, by what means soever, to remove both Bishops and the Common-Prayer-Book out of the Church of *England*, as Impious and Papistical:" whilst all the Learned and Orthodox Divines of *England*, were looked upon under the notion of Scandalous Ministers; and if the Meanest, and most Vicious Parishioner They had, could be brought to prefer a Petition against either of them to the House of Commons (how False soever) He was sure to be Prosecuted as such.

In the end, a Petition was Published, in the name of the Apprentices, and Those whose Apprenticeships were lately expired, in and about the City of *London*; and directed, To the King's most excellent Majesty in the Parliament now assembled; Showing, "That They found by experience, both by their Own and Masters Tradings, the beginning of great Mischiefs coming upon them, to nip them in the bud, when they were first entering into the World; the Cause of which, They could attribute to no others but the Papists, and the Prelates, and that Malignant Party which adhered to them: That they stood solemnly engaged, with the utmost of their Lives and Fortunes, to Defend his Sacred Majesty, and Royal Issue, together with the Rights and Liberties of Parliaments, against Papists, and Popish Innovators; such as Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and their dependants, appear to be. They desired

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A Petition
published, in
the name of
the Appren-
tices, against
Papists and
Prelates.

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“ his Majesty in Parliament to take notice, that notwithstanding the much unwearied pains and industry of the House of Commons, to subdue Popery, and Popish Innovators; neither is Popery yet subdued, nor Prelates are yet removed; whereby Many had taken encouragements desperately to Plot against the Peace and Safety of his Dominions: witness the most Barbarous and inhuman Cruelties perpetrated by the Papists in Ireland; from whence (They said) a new spring of Fears and Jealousies arose in them: and therefore They desired, that the Popish Lords, and other eminent and dangerous Papists, in all the parts of the Kingdom, might be looked unto, and Secured; the Laws against Priests and Jesuits fully executed; and the Prelacy rooted up: That so the work of Reformation might be prosperously carried on; Their distracting Fears removed; that the freedom of Commerce and Trade might pass on more cheerfully, for the encouragement of the Petitioners, &c.”

This, and such stuff, being Printed, and scattered amongst the People; Multitudes of mean persons flocked to *Westminster-Hall*, and about the Lords House; crying as they went up and down. *No Bishops*, “ *No Bishops* ” that so they might carry on the Reformation.

The Commons
Petition the
King for a
Guard.

I Said before, that upon the King's return from *Scotland*, He discharged the Guards that attended upon the Houses. Whereupon, the House of Commons (for the Lords refused to join with them) Petitioned the King, “ in regard of the Fears They had

“ had of some Design from the Papists, that They B O O K
 “ might continue such a Guard about them as They IV.
 “ thought fit.”

To which His Majesty answered, “ That He was His Majesty's
 “ confident they had no just cause of Fear ; and that Answer.
 “ They were as Safe, as Himself and his Children :
 “ but , since They did avow such an apprehension
 “ of Danger, that He would appoint a sufficient
 “ Guard for them.” And thereupon, directed the
 Train-bands of *Westminster* and *Middlesex* (which
 consisted of the most substantial Householders, and
 were under known Officers) in fit numbers to attend.

This Security was not liked ; and it was asked, —
Quis custodiet ipsos Custodes — ? And when the disorderly Rabble, spoke of now, first came down, They
 resisted them, and would not suffer them to disturb
 the Houses ; and some of them, with great rudeness,
 pressing to the door of the House of Peers, their
 Lordships appointed the Guards to be called up to
 remove them ; and the Earl of *Dorset*, being then
 Lord Lieutenant of *Middlesex* (the Crowd oppressing
 him and refusing to leave the Room) in some Passion,
 called upon the Guard “ to give Fire upon them ;”
 whereupon, the Rabble Frighted, left the place, and
 hasted away.

The House of Commons, incensed that Their
 Friends should be so used, much Inveighed against
 the Earl of *Dorset* ; and talked, “ of Accusing him
 “ of High-Treason ; at least, of drawing up some
 “ Impeachment against him ;” for some Judgment
 he had been Party to, in the Star-Chamber, or
 Council-Table : and so, giving these hints of Their

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Displeasure, that He might have the more care how he carried himself; They concluded, that since They could not have such a Guard as pleased Them, They would have None at all: and so sent to the Lords for "the Discharge of the Train-bands that attended:" who willingly consented to it; and it was done accordingly: The House of Commons declaring, "That it should be Lawful, for every Member to bring his own Servant, to attend at the door, Armed with such Weapons as They thought fit."

Great Tumults about the House of Peers.

It was quickly understood abroad, that the Commons liked well the Visits of their Neighbours: So that the People assembled in greater Numbers than before, about the House of Peers; calling still out with one Voice, *No Bishops, No Popish Lords*; Crowded and Affronted such Lords as came near them, who They knew affected not their ends, calling them *Rotten-hearted Lords*.

Hereupon, the House of Peers desired a Conference with the Commons; at which They complained of those Tumults; and told them, "That such Disorders would be an Imputation upon the Parliament, and make it be doubted. Whether they had Freedom; and so might happily become a Blemish to those many good Laws They had already Passed as well as Prevent the making more; and therefore desired them, that They would, for the Dignity of Parliaments, join with Them in a Declaration, for the Suppressing such Tumults." This was reported to the Commons; and as soon laid aside; "for the handling of other matters of more Importance."

The Tumults continued: and their Insolences

increased; infomuch, as many Dissolute and Profane People, went into the Abby at *Westminster*, and would have pulled down the Organs, and some Ornaments of the Church; but being resisted, and by force driven out, They threatened, "They would come with greater numbers, and pull down the Church."

Hereupon, the Lords send again to the House of Commons, to join with them in their Declaration; and many Members of that House complained, "that they could not come with safety to the House; and that some of them had been assaulted, and very ill entertained, by those People that crowded about the door." But this Conference could not be procured; the Debate being still put off to some other time; after several Speeches had been made in Justification of them, and Commendation of their affections: Some saying, "They must not Discourage their Friends, This being a time They must make use of All friends; Mr. *Pym* himself saying, God forbid the House of Commons should proceed, in any way, to Dishearten people to obtain their Just Desires in Such a way."

In the end, the Lords required the advice of the Judges "what course was Legally to be taken, to Suppress and Prevent those Disorders;" and thereupon directed the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, "to issue out a writ, upon the Statute of *Northampton*, to the Sheriff and Justices, to appoint strong Watches in such places as They judged most convenient, to hinder that unlawful conflux of People to *Westminster*, to the disturbance of Their con-

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The Lords direct a Writ to be issued out to appoint watches.

BOOK fultations. Which Writ iffuing accordingly, the
 IV. Juftices of the Peace, in obedience thereunto, appointed the Conftables to attend at the Water-side, and places near about *Westminfter*, with good Watches, to hinder that Tumultuous refort.

The Houfe of
 Commons
 difcharges
 them.

This was no fooner done, than the Conftables were fent for, by the Houfe of Commons, and after the view of their Warrants, required to Difcharge their Watches. And then the Juftices were convened, and examined; and albeit it appeared, that what They had done was in purfuanee of a Legal Writ, directed to them under the Great Seal of *England*, by the advice of the Lords in Parliament; without fo much as conferring with the Lords upon that act of Theirs; the fetting fuch a Watch, was voted to be “a Breach of Privilege:” and one of the Juftices of the Peace, who according to his Oath had executed that Writ, was committed to the Tower for that offence.

Upon this encouragement, all the Factious and Schifmatical People about the City and Suburbs, affembled themfelves together with great licence; and would frequently, as well in the night as the day, convene themfelves, by the found of a Bell, or other token, in the Fields, or fome convenient place, to confult, and receive Orders from Thofe by whom they were to be difpofed. A meeting of this kind being about the time we fpeak of in *South-wark*, in a place where their Arms and Magazine for that Borough was kept; the Conftable, being a fober man, and known to be an Enemy to thofe acts of Sedition, went among them, to obferve what

they did; he was no sooner espied, but he was reproached with disdainful words, beaten, and dragged, in so barbarous a manner, that he hardly escaped with his life. Complaint was made to the next Justices; and Oath of the Truth of the complaint made: whereupon, a Writ was directed to the Sheriff, to impanel a Jury according to Law, for the inquisition and examination of that Riot

This was complained of in the House of Commons, as an act that concerned Their Privileges; for that it was pretended, " That meeting in *South-wark* had been made by godly and well affected men, only to draw up and prepare a Petition against Bishops; and that the Constable, being a Friend to Bishops, came amongst them to cross them, and to hinder men from Subscribing that wholesome Petition. Upon this discourse, without any further examination, an Order was made by that House, ' That the Under-Sheriff of *Surrey* should be enjoined, not to suffer any Proceedings to be made upon any Inquisition, that might concern any persons who met together to Subscribe a petition to be preferred to that House. "

By this, and other means, all obstacles of the Law being removed, and the People taught a way to assemble Lawfully together, in how Tumultuous a manner soever, and the *Christmas* Holy-days giving more leave and licence to all kind of People, the Concourse grew more numerous about *Westminster*; the Rabble sometimes, in their passage between the City and *Westminster*, making a stand before *White-Hall*, and crying out, *No Bishops, No Bishops, No*

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The Tumults
increase a-
bout *White-
Hall* and
*Westmin-
ster*.

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Popish Lords, would say aloud, "That They would have no more Porter's Lodge, but would Speak with the King when They pleased:" and when They came near the two Houses, took Papers out of their Pockets, and getting upon some place higher than the rest, would Read the Names of several persons, under the Title of *Disaffected Members of the House of Commons*; and called many Lords, *False, Evil, and Rotten-hearted Lords*. But Their Rage and Fury against the Bishops grew so high, that They threatened to Pull down their Lodgings where they lay; offered to Force the Doors of the Abby at *Westminster*, which were kept Locked many days, and defended by a continual Guard within; and Assaulted the Persons of some of the Bishops in their Coaches; and laid hands on the Arch-Bishop of *York*, in that manner, that, if he had not been seasonably rescued, it was believed They would have Murdered him: So that all the Bishops, and many other Members, of Both Houses, withdrew themselves from attending in the Houses, out of real apprehension of Endangering their Lives.

Whereupon
all the Bish-
ops and
many of both
Houses with-
drew from
Their At-
tendance.

These Insurrections by this means were so Countenanced, that no industry or dexterity of the Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *Richard Gourney*, could give any Check to them; but instead thereof, Himself (with great and very notable courage Opposing all Their Fanatic humors, both in the Court of Aldermen and at the Common-Council) grew to be reckoned in the First Form of the *Malignants* (which was the term They imposed upon all Those They

meant to render Odious to the People) infomuch, as His House was no less Threatened and Disquieted by the Tumults, than the House of Lords: and when He apprehended some of Those who were most notorious in the Riot, and committed them to the custody of Both the Sheriffs of *London* in Person to be carried to *Newgate*. They were, by the power and strength of their Companions, Rescued from Them in *cheapside*, and the Two Sheriffs compelled to Shift for their own safety. And when it was offered to be proved by a Member in the House of Commons, That the Wife of Captain *Venn* (having received a Letter from Her Husband to that purpose) who was one of the Citizens that served for *London*, and was known Himself to lead those men , that came Tumultuously down to *Westminster*, and *White-Hall*, at the time of the Passing the Bill of Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford*, had with great industry Solicited many People to go down with their Arms to *Westminster*, upon a day (that was named) when She said , her Husband had sent her word, that in the House of Commons They were together by the Ears, and that the worser Party was like to get the better of the good Party ; and therefore her Husband desired his Friends to come with their Arms to *Westminster* to help the good Party ; and that thereupon many in a short time went thither : They who offered to make Proof of the same, were appointed to Attend many days ; but notwithstanding all the importunity that could be used, were never admitted to be Heard.

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Some Officers
Repel the
Rabble about
White-
Hall,

Hence the
terms of
Round
Head and
Cavalier.

All this time the King (who had been with great Solemnity invited by the City of *London*, and desired to make his Residence nearer to Them than *Hampton-Court*) was at *White Hall*, where, besides his ordinary Retinue, and menial Servants, many Officers of the late Disbanded Army, who Solicited Their remainder of Pay from the Two Houses, which was secured to Them by Act of Parliament, and expected some farther employment in the War with *Ireland*, upon observation, and view of the Insolence of the Tumults, and the Danger, that they might possibly bring to the Court, offered themselves for a Guard to his Majesty's Person; and were with more Formality and Ceremony entertained by Him, than upon a just computation of all distempers, was by many conceived Seasonable. And from these Officers warm with indignation at the Insolences of that vile Rabble, which every day passed by the Court, first Words of great Contempt, and then, those words commonly finding a Return of equal Scorn, Blows were fastened upon some of the most Pragmatical of the Crew. This was looked upon by the House of Commons like a Levying War by the King, and much pity expressed by Them that the poor People should be so used, who came to Them with Petitions (for some few of them had received some Cuts, and Slashes, that had drawn Blood) and that made a great argument for Reinforcing their Numbers. And from those contestations, the two Terms of *Round-Head* and *Cavalier* grew to be received in discourse, and were afterwards continued for the most Succinct distinction

offaffections throughout the quarrel: They who were looked upon as Servants to the King, being then called *Cavaliers*; and the other of the Rabble contemned, and despised, under the name of *Round-Heads*. BOOK
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The House of Commons being at this time without any Member, who having Relation to the King's Service, would express any Zeal for it, and could take upon him to say to others, whom he would trust, what the King desired, or to whom they who wished well, could resort for advice and direction; so that whilst there was a strong Conjunction, and Combination to disturb the Government by depraving it, whatever was said or done to Support it, was as if it were done by chance, and by the private dictates of the reason of private men; the King Resolved to call the Lord *Falkland*, and Sir *John Cotepepper*, who was Knight of the Shire for *Kent*, to his Council; and to make the former Secretary of State in the place of *Vane*, that had been kept vacant; and the latter Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, which Office the Lord *Cottington* had Resigned, that Mr. *Pym* might be put into it, when the Earl of *Bedford* should have been Treasurer, as is mentioned before. They were Both of great Authority in the House; neither of them of any relation to the Court; and therefore what They said made the more Impression; and They were frequent Speakers. The Lord *Falkland* was wonderfully beloved by all who knew him, as a man of Excellent Parts, of a Wit so Sharp, and a Nature so Sincere, that nothing could be more Lovely. The Other was

The Lord
Falkland
made Secre-
tary of State,
and Sir John
Colepepper
Chancellor of
the Exche-
quer.

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generally esteemed as a good Speaker, being a man of an Universal Understanding, a Quick Comprehension, a Wonderful Memory, who commonly Spoke at the end of the Debate; when he would recollect all that had been said of Weight on all sides with great exactness. and express his own Sense with much clearness, and such an application to the House, that no man more gathered a general Concurrence to his Opinion than he; which was the more notable, because his Person, and manner of Speaking were ungracious enough; so that He prevailed only by the strength of his Reason, which was enforced with Confidence enough.

The King knew Them to be of good Esteem in the House, and good Affections to his Service, and the quiet of the Kingdom, and was more easily persuaded to bestow those Preferments upon Them, than the Lord *Falkland* was to accept that which was designed to him. No man could be more Surprised than He was, when the first Intimation was made to him of the King's purpose: He had never proposed any Such thing to himself, nor had any Veneration for the Court, but only Such a Loyalty to the King as the Law required from him. And He had naturally a Wonderful Reverence for Parliaments, as believing them most Solicitous for Justice, the Violation whereof in the least degree he could not forgive any Mortal Power: and it was only his Observation of the Disingenuity, and want of Integrity in this Parliament, which lessened that Reverence to it, and had disposed him to cross, and oppose Their designs: He was so totally unac-

acquainted with business, and the forms of it, that He did believe really he could not Execute the Office with any Sufficiency. But there were Two Considerations that made most Impression upon him; the One, lest the world should believe, that his own Ambition had procured this Promotion, and that he had therefore appeared Signally in the House to Oppose those Proceedings, that he might thereby render himself gracious to the Court: The Other, lest the King should expect such a Submission, and Resignation of himself, and his own reason, and judgment to his Commands, as he should never give, or pretend to give; for he was so severe an adorer of Truth, that he could as easily have given himself leave to Steal as to Dissemble; or to suffer any Man to think that he would do any thing, which he Resolved not to do; which he thought a more mischievous kind of lying, than a positive averring what could be most easily contradicted.

It was a very difficult task to Mr. *Hyde*, who had most credit with Him, to Persuade Him to submit to this purpose of the King's cheerfully, and with a just sense of the Obligation, by Promising that in those Parts of the Office, which required most Drudgery, he would help him the best he could. But above all he prevailed with him, by enforcing the ill consequence of his refusal to take the Office, which would be interpreted to his dislike of the Court, and his Opinion, that more would be required from him than he could Honestly comply with, which would bring great Prejudice to the King: On the other hand, the great Benefit that

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B O O K probably would redound to the King, and the
 IV. Kingdom, by his accepting such a Trust in such a general defection, by which he would have opportunity to give the King a truer Information of his own Condition, and the State of the Kingdom, than it might be presumed had been given to him, and to prevent any Counfels or Practice, which might more alienate the affections of the People from the Government; and then, that by this Relation He would be more able to do the King Service in the House, where He was too well known to have it believed, that He attained to it by any unworthy Means or Application. In the end, He was persuaded to submit to the King's good Pleasure, though he could not be prevailed with to accept it with so good a grace, as might raise in the King any Notable Expectation of his departing from the severity of his own Nature.

Thus, He and *Colepepper* were both invested in those Offices, to the no small displeasure of the Governing Party, which could not dissemble their Indignation, that any of Their Members should Presume to receive those Preferments, which they had designed otherwise to have disposed of. They took all opportunities to express their dislike of Them, and to Oppose any thing they Proposed to Them. And within few days there came a Letter out in Print, pretended to be Intercepted, as written from a Roman Catholic to another of the same Profession, in which he gives an account, " That
 " They had at last, by the interest of their Friends
 " procured those two Honorable Persons " (before

“ mentioned) “ to be preferred to those Offices, and
 “ that they were well assured that they would be
 “ ready to do Them, and all their Friends, all good
 “ Offices ” Sir *John Colepepper* thought fit to take
 notice of it in the House, and to make those Profes-
 sions of his Religion, which he thought necessary.
 But the Lord *Falkland* chose rather to Contemn it,
 without taking notice of the Libel, well knowing
 that he was Superior to those Calumnies. as indeed
 he was; all of that Profession knowing that He was
 most irreconcilable to their Doctrine, though He
 was always Civil to their Persons. However grie-
 vous this Preferment was to the angry part of the
 House, it was very grateful to all those, both
 within and without the House, who wished well
 to the King, and the Kingdom.

The King at the same time Resolved to remove
 another Officer, who did disserve him notoriously,
 and to Prefer Mr. *Hyde* to that place, with which
 his Gracious intentions his Majesty acquainted him,
 but he positively refused it, and assured him, “ That
 “ He should be able to do much more Service in
 “ the condition he was in, than he should be, if
 “ that were improved by any Preferment, that could
 “ be conferred upon him at that time; ” and he
 added, “ that he had the Honor to have much
 “ Friendship with the two Persons, who were very
 “ Seasonably advanced by his Majesty, when his
 “ Majesty’s Service in the House of Commons, did
 “ in truth want some Countenance, and Support;
 “ and by his conversation with Them, he should
 “ be so well instructed by Them, that he should be

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B O O K “ more useful to his Majesty, than if it were under
 14. “ a nearer relation and dependance.” The King,
 with a very Gracious countenance, told him, “ that
 “ he perceived he must, for some time, defer the
 “ laying any Obligation upon him; but bid him be
 “ assured he would find both a Proper Time, and
 “ a Suitable Preferment for him, which he should
 “ not refuse. In the mean time, he said, he knew
 “ well the Friendship between the two Persons,
 “ whom he had taken to his Council, and him;
 “ which was not the least motive to him to make
 “ that choice; and that he would depend as much
 “ upon His Advice, as upon either of Theirs; and
 “ therefore wished that all Three would Confer
 “ together, how to conduct his Service in the House,
 “ and to advise his Friends how to carry themselves
 “ most to the advantage of it, and to give him
 “ constant Advertisment of what had Passed, and
 “ Counsel when it was fit for him, to do any thing;
 “ and Declared, that He would do nothing, that
 “ in any degree concerned, or related to his Service
 “ in the House of Commons, without their joint
 “ Advice, and exact Communication to them of
 “ all his own Conceptions;” which, without doubt,
 his Majesty did at that time steadfastly Resolve,
 though in very few days he did very Fatally
 swerve from it.

By what hath been said before, it appears that the
 Lord *Digby* was much trusted by the King, and he
 was of great familiarity, and friendship with the
 other Three, at least with Two of them; for he
 was not a Man of that Exactness, as to be in the

entire Confidence of the Lord *Falkland*, who looked upon his infirmities with more Severity than the other Two did; and he lived with more Frankness towards those Two, than he did towards the Other: Yet even between those two there was a free Conversation, and Kindness to each other. The Lord *Digby* was a man of very Extraordinary parts by Nature and Art, and had surely as good and excellent an Education as any man of that Age in any Country: A Graceful and Beautiful Person; of great Eloquence and Becomingness in his discourse (save that sometimes he seemed a little affected) and of so Universal a Knowledge, that he never wanted Subject for a discourse: He was equal to a very good part in the greatest Affairs, but the unfittest man alive to conduct them, having an ambition, and vanity Superior to all his other parts, and a confidence in himself, which sometimes intoxicated, and transported, and exposed him. He had from his Youth, by the disobligations his Family had undergone from the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the great men who succeeded him, and some sharp reprehension himself had met with, which obliged him to a Country-Life, contracted a prejudice, and ill will to the Court; and so had in the beginning of the Parliament, engaged himself with that Party which discovered most aversion from it, with a Passion and Animosity equal to theirs, and therefore very acceptable to Them. But when he was weary of their violent Counsels, and withdrew himself from them with some circumstances which enough provoked them, and made a Reconciliation, and

B O O K mutual Confidence in each other for the future,
 IV. manifestly impossible amongst them; he made private and secret offers of his Service to the King, to whom in so general a defection of his Servants, it could not but be very agreeable; and so his Majesty being satisfied both in the Discoveries he made of what had passed, and in his Professions for the future, removed him from the House of Commons, where he had rendered himself marvellously ungracious, and called him by Writ to the House of Peers, where he did visibly Advance the King's Service, and quickly rendered himself grateful to all those who had not thought too well of him before, when he deserved less; and men were not only pleased with the Assistance he gave upon all Debates, by his Judgment and Vivacity, but looked upon him, as one, who could derive the King's Pleasure to them, and make a lively representation of their good demeanour to the King, which he was very luxuriant in promising to do, and officious enough in doing as much as was Just.

He had been instrumental in promoting the Three Persons above mentioned to the King's favor; and had himself in truth so great an Esteem of them, that he did very frequently, upon Conference together, depart from his own Inclinations and Opinions, and Concurred in Theirs; and very few men of so great parts were, upon all occasions, more Counsellable than he; so that he would seldom be in danger of running into great Errors, if he would communicate, and expose all his own thoughts and inclinations to such a disquisition;

nor

nor was he uninclinable in his Nature to such an entire communication in all things which he conceived to be difficult. But his Fatal infirmity was, that he too often thought difficult things very easy; and considered not possible consequences, when the Proposition administered somewhat that was delightful to his Fancy, by pursuing whereof he imagined he should reap some Glory to himself, of which he was immoderately Ambitious: So that if the consultation were upon any Action to be done, no man more implicitly entered into that Debate, or more cheerfully resigned his own conceptions to a joint determination: But when it was once affirmatively resolved (besides that he might possibly reserve some impertinent circumstance, as he thought, the imparting whereof would change the nature of the thing) if his Fancy suggested to him any particular, which himself might perform in that Action, upon the imagination that every body would approve it if it were proposed to them, he chose rather to do it, than Communicate it, that he might have some Signal part to himself in the Transaction, in which no other Person might claim a share.

By this unhappy temper he did often involve himself in very unprosperous Attempts. The King himself was the untttest Person alive to be served by Such a Counsellor, being too easily inclined to sudden Enterprises, and as easily Startled when they were entered upon. And from this unhappy composition in the One, and the Other, a very unhappy Counsel was proposed, and resolution taken,

BOOK without the least communication with either of
IV. the Three, who had been so lately admitted to an entire Trust.

The Bishops, who had been, in the manner before spoken of driven, and kept from the House of Peers, and not very Secure in their own, could not have the patience to Attend the Dissolution of this Storm, which in wisdom They ought to have done: but considering Right and Reason too abstractly, and what in Justice was due, not what in Prudence was to be expected; suffered Themselves implicitly to be guided by the Arch-Bishop of *York*, who was of a restless, and overweening Spirit, to such an Act of indiscretion, and disadvantage to Themselves, that all their Enemies could not have brought upon Them. This Bishop, as is said, was a man of a very Imperious and fiery Temper; Dr. *Williams*, who had been Bishop of *Lincoln*, and Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* in the time of King *James*. After his removal from that Charge, He had lived Splendidly in his Diocese, and made himself very popular amongst those who had no reverence for the Court; of which he would frequently, and in the presence of many, speak with too much Freedom, and tell many Stories of Things and Persons upon his own former Experience; in which, being a man of great Pride and Vanity, He did not always confine himself to a precise Veracity, and did often presume in those unwary discourses, to mention the Person of the King with too little Reverence. He did affect to be thought an Enemy to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*;

whose Person he seemed exceedingly to contemn, and to be much displeased with those Ceremonies and Innovations, as they were then called, which were countenanced by the Other; and had himself published, by his own Authority, a Book against the using those Ceremonies, in which there was much good Learning, and too little Gravity for a Bishop. His Passion and his Levity, gave every day great advantages to those who did not love him, and He provoked too many, not to have those advantages made use of: So that, after several Informations against Him in the Star-Chamber, He was sentenced, and Fined in a great sum of Money to the King, and committed Prisoner to the Tower, without the pity, or compassion of any, but those, who, out of hatred to the Government, were sorry that they were without so useful a Champion; For He appeared to be a man of a very corrupt Nature, whose Passions could have transported Him into the most unjustifiable Actions.

He had a Faculty of making relations of things done in his own Presence, and discourses made to himself, or in his own hearing, with all the circumstances of answers, and replies, and upon Arguments of great Moment; all which, upon Examination, were still found to have nothing in them that was Real, but to be the pure effect of his own Invention. After He was Sentenced in the Star-Chamber; some of his Friends resorted to him, to lament, and condole with him for his misfortune, and some of them seemed to wonder that in an Affair of such a Nature, He had not found means to have made some

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Submission, and Composition, that might have prevented the public Hearing, which proved so much to his Prejudice in point of Reputation, as well as Profit. He answered them with all the formality imaginable, "that they had reason indeed to wonder at him upon the Event; but when they should know how he had governed himself, He believed they would cease to think him worthy of blame." And then related to them, "that as soon as Publication had passed in his Cause, and the Books were taken out, he had desired his Council (who were all able men, and some of them very Eminent) in the Vacation-time, and they at most leisure, to meet together, and carefully to look over, and peruse all the Evidence that was taken on Both sides; and that then they would attend him such a Morning, which he appointed upon their consent, at his own House at *Westminster*: That they came at the time appointed; and being then shut up in a Room together, He asked them, whether they had sufficiently perused all the Books, and were thoroughly informed of his Case; To which they all answered, that they had not only read them all over together, but had severally, every man by himself, perused them again, and they believed they were all well informed of the whole. That He then told them he had desired this Conference with them, not only as his Council, by whose opinion he meant, to govern himself, but as his particular Friends, who, he was sure, would give him their best Advice, and persuade him to do every thing as they would do themselves,

“ if They were in His Condition. That he was now
“ offered to make his Peace at Court, by such a
“ humble Submission to the King, as he was most
“ inclined, and ready to make; and which he would
“ make the next day after his Cause was heard,
“ though he should be Declared to be Innocent, of
“ which he could make no doubt; But that which
“ troubled him for the present, was, that the In-
“ famouſness of the Charge against him, which had
“ been often Exposed, and Inlarged upon in several
“ motions, had been so much taken notice of through
“ the Kingdom, that it could not consist with his
“ Honor to divert the Hearing, which would be im-
“ puted to his want of Confidence in his Innocence,
“ since men did not suspect his Courage, if he durst
“ rely upon the other; but that he was Resolved, as
“ he said before, the next day after he should be
“ Vindicated from those Odious Aspersions, he
“ would cast himself at the King’s feet, with all the
“ Humility, and Submission, which the most Guilty
“ man could make profession of. It was in this point
“ he desired their Advice, to which he would, with-
“ out adhering to his own Inclination, entirely
“ conform himself; and therefore desired them, Singly
“ in order, to give him their Advice.” He repeated
the Several, and Distinct discourse every man had
made, in which he was so punctual, that he applied
those Phrases, and Expressions, and Manner of Speech
to the several men, which they were all taken notice
of frequently to use; as many men have some
Peculiar Words in discourse, which they are most
delighted with, or by custom most addicted to:

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and in Conclusion, “that they were Unanimous in
 “their judgments: that he could not, with the
 “preservation of his Honor, and the opinion of
 “his Integrity, decline the Public Hearing; where
 “he must be unquestionably declared Innocent;
 “there being no Crime, or Misdemeanour proved
 “against him in Such a manner, as could make him
 “liable to Censure: they All commended his reso-
 “lution of Submitting to the King as soon as he had
 “made his Innocence to appear; and they All ad-
 “vised him to pursue that Method This, he said,
 “had Swayed him; and made him decline the other
 “Expedient, that had been proposd to him.”

This Relation wrought upon Those to whom it
 was made, to raise a Prejudice in them against the
 Justice of the Cause, or the Reputation of the Coun-
 cil, as they were most inclined; whereas there was
 not indeed the least shadow of Truth in the whole
 Relation; except that there was such a Meeting,
 and Conference, as was mentioned, and which had
 been consented to by the Bishop upon the joint
 desire, and importunity of all the Council; Who,
 at that Conference, Unanimously advised and desired
 him “to use all the Means and Friends he could,
 “that the Cause might not be brought to Hearing;
 “but that he should purchase his Peace at any Price;
 “for that if it were Heard, he would be Senten-
 “ced very grievously, and that there were many
 “things proved against him, which would so
 “much reflect upon his Honor, and Reputation,
 “and the more for being a Bishop, that all his
 “Friends would abandon him; and be for ever

“ after Ashamed to appear on his behalf.” Which Advice, with great Passion, and Reproaches upon the Several Persons for their Presumption, and Ignorance in matters so much above Them, he utterly and scornfully rejected. Nor indeed was it possible, at that time, for him to have made his Peace; for though upon some former Addresses, and Importunity on his behalf by some Persons of Power, and Place in the Court, in which the Queen herself had endeavoured to have done him good Offices, the King was inclined to have saved him, being a Bishop, from the Infamy he must undergo by a Public Trial; yet the Bishop’s Vanity had, in those conjunctures, so far transported him, that he had done all he could to have insinuated, “ that the Court “ was ashamed of what they had done; and had “ prevailed with some of his Powerful Friends to “ persuade him to that composition:” upon which the King would never hear more any Person who Moved on His behalf.

It had been once mentioned to Him, whether by Authority, or no, was not known, “ that his Peace “ should be made, if he would resign his Bishopric, “ and Deanry of *Westminster*” (for he had That in Commendam) “ and take a good Bishopric in *Ireland*;” which he positively refused; and said, “ he had much to do to defend himself against the “ Arch-Bishop Here; but if he was in *Ireland*, There “ was a man (meaning the Earl of *Strafford*) who “ would cut off his Head within one Month.”

This Bishop had been for some years in the Tower, by the Sentence of the Star-Chamber, before this

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Parliament met; when the Lords, who were the most Active and Powerful, presently resolved to have him at Liberty. Some had much Kindness for him; not only as a known Enemy to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; but as a Supporter of Those Opinions, and Those Persons, which were against the Church itself. And he was no sooner at Liberty, and brought into the House, but, as has been before mentioned, he defended, and seconded the Lord *Say*, when he made an Invective with all the Malice, and Bitterness imaginable, against the Arch-Bishop then in Prison; and when he had concluded, that Bishop said; "that he had long known that noble Lord, " and had always believed him to be as well affected " to the Church as Himself;" and so he continued to make all his Address to that Lord, and Those of the same Party. Being now in full Liberty, and in some Credit, and Reputation, he applied himself to the King; and made all possible professions of Duty to his Majesty, and Zeal to the Church; protesting "to have a perfect Detestation of Those " Persons, who appeared to have no Affection or " Duty towards his Majesty, and of all evil intentions against the Religion Established; and that " the Civility he had expressed towards them, was " only out of Gratitude for the good Will They " had showed to Him; and especially that he might " the better promote his Majesty's Service." And it being his Turn shortly after, as Dean of *Westminster*, to Preach before the King; he took occasion to speak of the Factions in Religion, and mentioning the Presbyterian Discipline, he said, "it was a

“ Government only fit for Taylors and Shoemakers, B O O K
“ and the like: not for Noblemen, and Gentlemen:” IV.
which gave great Scandal, and Offence to his
great Patrons; to whom he easily reconciled him-
self, by making Them as merry with some Sharp
Sayings of the Court, and by performing more Sub-
stantial Offices for them.

When, upon the Trial of the Earl of *Strafford*,
it was resolved to decline the Judgment of the
House of Peers, and to proceed by Bill of Attainder;
and thereupon it was very unreasonably Moved,
“ that the Bishops might have no Vote in the pas-
“ sing that Act of Parliament; because they pre-
“ tended it was to have their hand in Blood, which
“ was against an old Canon;” This Bishop, without
communicating with any of his Brethren, very
Frankly declared his opinion, “ that they ought
“ not to be present;” and offered, not only in his
own Name, but for the rest of the Bishops, “ to
“ withdraw always when That business was entered
“ upon:” and so betrayed a Fundamental Right of
the whole Order; to the great Prejudice of the
King, and to the taking away the Life of that Per-
son, who could not otherwise have Suffered.

And shortly after, when the King declared, that
he neither would, nor could in Conscience, give
his Royal Assent to that Act of Attainder; when the
Tumults came about the Court with Noise and
Clamor for Justice; the Lord *Say* desired the King
to Confer with his Bishops for the Satisfaction of
his Conscience; and desired him to speak with
That Bishop in the point. After much discourse

BOOK together, and the King insisting upon many particulars, which might induce others to consent, but
 IV. were known to Himself to be False; and therefore he could never in Conscience give his own consent to them; the Bishop, as hath been mentioned before, amongst other Arguments, told him; “that he must
 “consider, that as he had a Private Capacity, and
 “a Public, so he had a Public Conscience as well
 “as a Private; that though his Private Conscience,
 “as a Man, would not permit him to do an Act
 “contrary to his own Understanding, Judgment,
 “and Conscience; yet his Public Conscience, as
 “a King, which obliged him to do all things for
 “the Good of his People, and to preserve his Kingdom in Peace for Himself and his Posterity, would
 “not only permit him to do That, but even Oblige, and Require him. That he saw in what
 “Commotion the People were; that his own Life,
 “and that of the Queen, and the Royal Issue, might
 “probably be Sacrificed to that Fury; and it would
 “be very strange, if his Conscience should prefer
 “the Life of one single Private Person how Innocent
 “soever, before all those other Lives, and the preservation of the Kingdom.”

This was the argumentation of that unhappy Casuist; who truly, it may be, did believe himself; for towards the end of the War, and when the King's Power declined; he, being then an Arch-Bishop, did in Person assist the Rebels to take a Castle of the King's; in which there was a Garrison, and which was taken by a long Siege; because he might thereby the better enjoy the Profits of his own Estate, which lay thereabouts.

Upon all these great Services He had performed for the Party, he grew every day more Imperious; and after the King thought it necessary to make him Arch-Bishop of *York*, which, as the time then was, could not qualify him to do more harm, and might possibly dispose, and oblige him to do some good; he carried himself so Insolently, in the House and out of the House, to all Persons, that he became much more Odious universally, than ever the other Arch-Bishop had been; having sure more Enemies than He, and few or no Friends, of which the Other had abundance. And the great hatred of this Man's Person and Behaviour, was the greatest invitation to the House of Commons so irregularly to revive that Bill to remove the Bishops; and was their chief encouragement to hope, that the Lords, who had rejected the Former, would now Pass, and consent to this Second Bill.

This was one of the Bishops, who was most rudely treated by the Rabble; who gathered themselves together about the House of Peers, crying out, *No Bishops, No Bishops*: and his Person was assaulted, and Robes torn from his back; upon which, in very just displeasure, he returned to his house, the Deanry at *Westminster*; and sent for all the Bishops, who were then in the Town (it being within very few days of *Christmas*) of which there were Twelve or Thirteen; and, in much Passion, and with his natural Indignation, He proposed as absolutely necessary; "that they might Unanimously, and
 " Presently prepare a Protestation, to send to
 " the House, against the Force that was used

B O O K “ upon Them; and against all the Acts, which were,
IV. “ or should be done during the time that They
“ should by Force be kept from doing their Duties
“ in the House.” And immediately, having Pen
and Ink ready, Himself prepared a Protestation;
which being read to them, They all approved;
depending upon His great Experience in the Rules
of the House, where he had sat so many Years,
and in some Parliaments in the place of Speaker,
whilst he was Keeper of the Great Seal: and so pre-
suming, that He could commit no error in Matter
or Form: and without further Communication,
and Advice, which both the Importance of the
Subject, and the Distemper of the time did require;
and that it might have been considered as well
what was Fit, as what was Right; without further
delay, than what was necessary for the fair Writ-
ing, and Ingrossing the Instrument, They had pre-
pared; They all set their hands to it. Then the
Arch-Bishop went to *White-Hall* to the King, and
presented the Protestation to Him; it being directed
to his Majesty with a humble desire, that He
would send it to the House of Peers, since They
could not present it Themselves; and that He would
command, that it should be Entered in the Journal
of the House. His Majesty casting his Eye per-
functorily upon it, and believing it had been
drawn by Mature Advice, no sooner received it,
than he delivered it to the Lord Keeper, who un-
fortunately happened to be likewise present, with
his command that he should deliver it to the
House as soon as it met; which was to be within

two hours after. The Petition contained these words, B O O K

IV.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty; and the Lords, and Peers now assembled in Parliament. The Petition and Protestation of the

" The humble Petition, and Protestation of all Bishops to the
 " the Bishops, and Prelates now called by his King and
 " Majesty's Writs to attend the Parliament, House of
Lords.

" and present about *London and Westminster* for
 " that Service.

" That, whereas the Petitioners were called up
 " by Several and Respective Writs, and under
 " great Penalties to attend in Parliament; and have
 " a clear and indubitable Right to Vote in Bills,
 " and other matters whatsoever Debatable in Par-
 " liament, by the ancient Customs, Laws, and
 " Statutes of this Realm; and ought to be Protected
 " by your Majesty, quietly to attend, and prosecute
 " that great Service:

" They humbly Remonstrate, and Protest before
 " God, Your Majesty, and the noble Lords and
 " Peers now assembled in Parliament; that as
 " They have an indubitable Right to Sit, and
 " Vote in the House of Lords, so are they (if
 " they may be protected from Force, and Vio-
 " lence) most ready, and willing to perform their
 " Duties accordingly; and that they do Abomi-
 " nate all Actions or Opinions tending to Popery,
 " and the maintenance thereof; as also all Propen-
 " sion, and Inclination to any Malignant Party, or
 " any other Side, or Party whatsoever, to the which
 " Their own Reasons, and Consciences shall not
 " move them to Adhere.

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“ But, whereas They have been at several times,
“ violently Menaced, Affronted, and Assaulted by
“ Multitudes of People in their coming to perform
“ their Services in that Honorable House; and lately
“ Chafed away, and put in danger of their Lives,
“ and can find no Redress, or Protection upon
“ sundry Complaints made to both Houses in These
“ Particulars :

“ They likewise humbly Protest before your Ma-
“ jesty, and the noble House of Peers; that, saving
“ to themselves all their Rights, and Interests of
“ Sitting, and Voting in That House at other times;
“ They dare not Sit or Vote in the House of Peers,
“ until your Majesty shall further secure them from
“ all Affronts, Indignities, and Dangers in the
“ premises.

“ Lastly, whereas their fears are not built upon
“ Fantasies, and Conceits, but upon such Grounds
“ and Objects, as may well terrify Men of good
“ Resolutions, and much Constancy; They do in all
“ Duty and Humility Protest, before your Majesty,
“ and the Peers of That most Honorable House of
“ Parliament, against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Re-
“ solutions and Determinations, as in themselves
“ Null and of none Effect, which in Their Absence,
“ since the seven-and-twentieth of this Instant Month
“ of *December* 1641, have already Passed; as likewise
“ against all Such, as shall hereafter Pass in That most
“ Honorable House, during the time of this Their
“ Forced and Violent Absence from the said most
“ Honorable House; not denying but if Their Ab-
“ senting Themselves were Wilful and Voluntary,

“ That most Honorable House might proceed in all
 “ These Premises, Their Absence, or this Their
 “ Protestation notwithstanding:
 “ And humbly Beseeching your most excellent
 “ Majesty to command the Clerk of the House of
 “ Peers to Enter this Their Petition, and Protestation
 “ amongst the Records :

“ They will ever Pray, &c.”

Signed

*Jo. Eborac. Jo. Norwich. Geo. Heref. Godfr. Glouc.
 Tho. Duresme. Jo. Asaphen. Rob. Oxon. Jo. Peterburgh.
 Rob. Cov. and L. Guil. Ba. and Wells. Ma. Ely.
 Mor. Landaff.*

It was great pity, that, though the Arch-Bishop's Passion transported him, as it usually did; and his Authority imposed upon the rest, who had no affection to his Person, or reverence for his Wisdom; his Majesty did not take a little time to consider of it, before he put it out of his Power to alter it, by putting it out of his hands. For it might easily have been discerned by Those who were well acquainted with the Humor, as well as the Temper of both Houses, that some advantage, and ill Use would have been made of some Expressions contained in it; and that it could produce no good Effect. But the same Motive and Apprehension, that had precipitated the Bishops to so hasty a Resolution (which was, that the House of Peers would have made that use of the Bishops being kept from the House, that they would in that time have passed the Bill itself for taking away their Votes)

B O O K had its effects likewise with the King; who had the
IV. same imagination, and therefore would lose no time in the transmission of it to the House. Whereas it is more probable the Lords would never have made use of that very Season, whilst the Tumults still continued, for the passing an Act of that importance; and the Scandal, if not Invalidity of it, would have been an Unanswerable ground for the King to have refused his Royal Assent to it.

As soon as this Protestation, which, no doubt, in the time before the House was to meet, had been communicated to Those who were prepared to speak upon it, was Delivered by the Lord Keeper with his Majesty's Command, and Read; the Governing Lords manifested a great Satisfaction in it, Some of them saying, "that there was *Digitus Dei* to bring " That to pass, Which they could not Otherwise " have compassed;" and without ever Declaring any Judgment or Opinion of their own upon it, which they ought to have done, the matter only having relation to themselves, and concerning their own Members; they sent to desire a Conference presently with the House of Commons, upon a business of Importance; and, at the Conference, only Read, and Delivered the Protestation of the Bishops to them; which, the Lord Keeper told them, he had received from the King's own Hand, with a Command to Present it to the House of Peers.

The Protestation is delivered by the Lords to the House of Commons in a Conference.

The Commons accuse the Bishops that subscribed it of High.

The House of Commons took very little time to consider of the matter; but, within half an hour, they sent up to the Lords; and, without further Examination, accused them all who had Subscribed

the

the Protestation, of High-Treason; and, by this means, they were all, the whole Twelve of them, committed to Prison; and remained in the Tower till the Bill for the putting them out of the House was Passed, which was not till many Months after.

B O O K
IV.
Treason, and
They are
committed to
the Tower.

When the Passion, Rage, and Fury of this time shall be forgotten, and Posterity shall find, amongst the Records of the Supreme Court of Judicature, so many Orders, and Resolutions in vindication of the Liberty of the Subject against the Imprisoning of any man, though by the King Himself, without assigning such a Crime as the Law hath determined to be worthy of Imprisonment; and in the same Year, by this high Court, shall find Twelve Bishops, Members of This Court, committed to Prison for High-Treason, for the Presenting This Protestation; Men will surely wonder at the Spirit of that Reformation: and even that Clause of Declaring all Acts Null, which had been, or should be done in Their Absence, in defence of which no man Then durst open his Mouth, will be thought good Law, and good Logic; not that the Presence of the Bishops in that time was so Essential, that no Act should Pass without Them; which had given them a Voice; upon the matter, as Negative as the King's; and Themselves, in their Instrument, Disclaimed the least Pretence to such a qualification; but because a Violence offered to the Freedom of any One Member, is a Violation to all the Rest: as if a Council consist of Threescore, and the door to that Council be kept by Armed men, and all Such, whose Opinions are not liked, kept out

B O O K by force ; no doubt the Freedom of Those Within
IV. is infringed , and all Their Acts as Void and Null,
as if they were Locked in , and kept without meat
till they altered their Judgments.

And therefore you shall find in the Journals of
the most Sober Parliaments, that, upon any eminent
Breach of Their Privileges , as always upon the
Commitment of any Member for any thing Said
or Done in the House , sometimes upon less oc-
casions, that House, which apprehended the Trespass,
would sit mute, without Debating , or Handling
any business , and then Adjourn ; and this hath
been practised many days together, till they had
Redress or Reparation. And their Reason was ,
because their Body was Lame ; and what was be-
fallen One Member , threatened the Rest ; and
the consequence of one Act might extend itself to
many other , which were not in view ; and this
made their Privileges of so tender , and nice a
temper , that they were not to be Touched , or in
the least degree Trenched upon ; and therefore
that in so apparent an Act of Violence , where it
is not more clear that they were committed to
Prison , than that they durst not then Sit in the
House , and when it was Lawful in the House of
Peers for every dissenter in the most Trivial debate,
to enter his Protestation against that sense he liked
not , though he were single in his opinion ; That
it should not be Lawful for Those , who could not
Enter it Themselves , to Present this Protestation
to the King , to whom they were accountable
under a Penalty for their Absence ; and unlawful

to that degree, that it should render them culpable of High-Treason; and so forfeit their Honor, their Lives, their Fortunes, expose their Names to perpetual Infamy, and their Wives and Children to Penury; and want of bread; will be looked upon as a Determination of that Injustice, Impiety, and Horror, as could not be believed without those deep marks, and Prints of Confusion that followed, and attended That Resolution.

And yet the Indiscretion of Those Bishops, swayed by the Pride, and Passion of that Arch-Bishop, in applying that Remedy at a time, when they saw all Forms and Rules of Judgment impetuously declined; and the power of their Adversaries so great, that the Laws themselves submitted to their Oppression; that They should, in such a Storm, when the best Pilot was at his prayers, and the Card, and Compass lost, without the advice of one Mariner, put themselves in such a Cock-boat, and to be severed from the good Ship, gave that Scandal and Offence to all those who passionately desired to preserve their Function, that they had no compassion, or regard of their Persons, or what became of them; insomuch as in the whole Debate in the House of Commons, there was only one Gentleman, who spoke in their behalfs, and said; "he did not believe they were guilty of High-Treason, but that they were Stark Mad; and therefore desired they might be sent to *Bedlam*."

This high, and extravagant way of proceeding brought no Prejudice to the King; and though it made their Tribunal more terrible to men who

B O O K

IV.

labored under any Guilt, yet it exceedingly lessened the Reverence and Veneration, that formerly had been entertained for Parliaments: and this last Accusation, and Commitment of so many Bishops at Once, was looked upon by all Sober men with Indignation. For whatever Indiscretion might be in the thing itself, though some Expressions in the matter might be Unskillful and Unwarrantable, and the Form of presenting and transmitting it, Irregular and Unjustifiable (for all which the House of Peers might punish their Own Members; according to their discretion) yet every man knew there could be no Treason in it; and therefore the end of their Commitment, and the use all men saw would be made of it, made it the more Odious; and the Members who were absent from both Houses, which were Three parts of Four, and many of those who had been present, Abhorred the Proceedings; and attended the Houses more diligently; so that the Angry Party, who were no more treated with, to abate their Fury, would have been compelled to have given over all their Designs for the Alteration of the Government both in Church, and State; if the Volatile, and Unquiet Spirit of the Lord *Digby* had not prevailed with the King, contrary to his Resolution, to have given Them some New Advantage; and to depart from his purpose of doing nothing without very mature Deliberation.

Though Sir *William Balfour*, who is already mentioned, had, from the beginning of this Parliament, forgot all his Obligations to the King; and had

made himself very Gracious to those people, whose glory it was to be thought Enemies to the Court; and, whilst the Earl of *Strafford* was his Prisoner, did many Offices not becoming the Trust he had from the King, and contributed much to the Jealousy, which that Party had of his Majesty; upon which there had been a long resolution to remove him from that Charge; but to do it with his own Consent, that there might be no manifestation of Displeasure; yet it was a very unseasonable Conjunction, which was taken to execute it in; and this whole Transaction was so secretly carried, that there was neither notice nor suspicion of it, till it was heard, that Sir *Thomas Lunsford* was Sworn Lieutenant of the Tower; a man, who, though of an ancient Family in *Suffex*, was of a very small, and decayed Fortune, and of no good Education; having been few years before, compelled to fly the Kingdom, to avoid the hand of Justice for some riotous Misdemeanour; by reason whereof, he spent some time in the service of the King of *France*, where he got the reputation of a Man of Courage, and a good Officer of Foot; and in the beginning of the Troubles here had some Command in the King's Army: but so much inferior to many others, and was so little known, except upon the disadvantage of an ill Character, that, in the most Dutiful time, the Promotion would have appeared very ungrateful. He was utterly a Stranger to the King, and therefore it was quickly understood to proceed from the Single election of the Lord *Digby*, to whom he was likewise very little

B O O K known; who had in truth designed that Office to
IV. his Brother Sir *Lewis Dives*, against whom there could have been no exception, but his Relation: but He being not at that time in Town, and the other having some secret Reason to fill that place in the Instant, with a man who might be trusted; he suddenly resolved upon this Gentleman, as one who would be Faithful to him for the obligation, and execute any thing he should desire, or direct; which was a reason he might easily have foreseen would provoke more powerful Opposition; which error, as is said before, was repaired by the sudden change, and putting in Sir *John Byron*; though it gave little satisfaction, and the less, by reason of another more inconvenient Action, which changed the whole Face of Affairs, and caused This to be more reflected upon.

The Attorney General Herbert accuses in the House of Lords the Lord Kimbolton, and five Members of the House of Commons of High-Treason.

In the Afternoon of a day when the two Houses sat, *Herbert* the King's Attorney informed the House of Peers, that he had somewhat to say to them from the King; and thereupon, having a Paper in his hand, he said, that the King commanded him to accuse the Lord *Kimbolton*, a Member of that House, and five Gentlemen, who were all Members of the House of Commons, of High-Treason; and that his Majesty had himself delivered him in Writing several Articles, upon which he accused them; and he read in a Paper these ensuing Articles, by which the Lord *Kimbolton*, *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hambden*, and Mr. *Strode*, stood Accused of High-Treason, for Conspiring against the King, and the Parliament.

Articles of High-Treason, and other Misdemeanours, against the Lord Kimbolton, Mr Pym, John Hambden, Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and William Strode Members of the House of Commons. BOOK IV
The Articles
against them.

1. " That They have Traiterously endeavoured
" to Subvert the Fundamental Laws. and Govern-
" ment of this Kingdom; and Deprive the King of
" his Regal power; and to place on his Subjects
" an Arbitrary, and Tyrannical power.

2. " That They have endeavoured, by many foul
" Aspersions upon his Majesty, and his Govern-
" ment, to alienate the Affections of his People,
" and to make his Majesty Odious to Them.

3. " That They have endeavoured to draw his
" Majesty's late Army to disobedience to his Ma-
" jesty's Command, and to Side with Them in Their
" Traiterous design.

4 " That They have Traiterously invited, and
" encouraged a Foreign Power to invade his Ma-
" jesty's Kingdom of *England*.

5. " That They have Traiterously endeavoured
" to Subvert the very Rights, and Beings of Par-
" liament.

6. " That for the completing of their Traiterous
" designs, They have endeavoured, as far as in
" Them lay, by Force and Terror to compel the
" Parliament to join with them in their Traiterous
" designs, and, to that end, have Actually raised,
" and countenanced Tumults against the King, and
" Parliament.

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7. "That They have Traiterously conspired to
" Levy, and actually have Levied War against the
" King."

The House of Peers was somewhat appalled at this Alarum, but took time to consider of it, till the next day, that they might see how their Masters the Commons would behave themselves; the Lord *Kimbolton* being present in the House, and making great professions of his Innocence; and no Lord being so hardy to press for his Commitment on the behalf of the King.

A Serjeant
at Arms de-
mands the
five Members
in the House
of Commons.

At the same time, a Serjeant at Arms demanded to be Heard at the House of Commons from the King; and being sent for to the Bar, demanded the Persons of five of their Members to be delivered to him in his Majesty's Name, his Majesty having accused them of High-Treason. But the Commons were not much surpris'd with the Accident; for besides that they quickly knew what had pass'd with the Lords, some Servants of the King, by especial Warrant, had visited the Lodgings of some of the accused Members, and Sealed up their Studies and Trunks; upon information whereof, before that Serjeant came to the House, or Public notice was taken of the accusation, an Order was made by the Commons; "that if any
" person whatsoever should come to the Lodgings
" of any Member of that House, and there offer to
" Seal the Doors, Trunks, or Papers of such Mem-
" bers, or to Seize upon their Persons; that then
" such Member should require the aid of the next
" Constable, to keep such persons in safe Custody,
" till the House should give further Order: that if

“ any person whatsoever should offer to Arrest or
 “ Detain any Member of that House, without first
 “ acquainting that House therewith, and receiving
 “ further Order from thence; it should be lawful
 “ for such Member to stand upon his Guard, and
 “ make Resistance, and for any person to assist him,
 “ according to the Protestation taken to defend the
 “ Privileges of Parliament. ” And so, when the Ser-
 jeant had delivered his Message, he was no more
 called in; but a Message sent to the King, “ that the
 “ Members should be forth coming as soon as a
 “ Legal Charge should be preferred against them; ”
 and so the House Adjourned till the next day, every
 one of the accused persons taking a Copy of that
 Order, which was made for their Security.

The next day in the Afternoon, the King, at
 tended only by his own usual Guard, and some few
 Gentlemen, who put themselves into their company
 in the way, came to the House of Commons; and
 commanding all his Attendants to wait at the Door,
 and give offence to no man; Himself, with his
 Nephew, the Prince Elector, went into the House, to
 the great amazement of all: and the Speaker leaving
 the Chair, the King went into it; and told the House,
 “ he was sorry for that occasion of coming to them;
 “ that yesterday he had sent his Serjeant at Arms
 “ to Apprehend some, that, by his command,
 “ were accused of High-Treason; whereunto he
 “ expected Obedience, but instead thereof he had
 “ received a Message He declared to them, that
 “ no King of *England* had been ever, or should be
 “ more careful to maintain their Privileges, than He

B O O K
 IV.

The King
 goes to the
 House of
 Commons to
 demand them.

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“ would be; but that in Cases of Treason No man
“ had privilege; and therefore he came to see if any
“ of those persons, whom he had accused, were
“ There; for he was resolved, to have them, where-
“ soever he should find them: and looking then
“ about, and asking the Speaker whether they were
“ in the House, and he making no answer, he said,
“ he perceived the *Birds were all Flown*, but ex-
“ pected they should be sent to him, as soon as they
“ returned thither; and assured them in the Word
“ of a King, that he never intended any Force, but
“ would proceed against them in a Fair, and Legal
“ way; and so returned to *White-Hall*.

The accused persons, upon information and intelligence what his Majesty intended to do, how secretly soever it was carried at Court, having withdrawn from the House about half an hour before the King came thither; the House in great disorder, as soon as the King was gone, Adjourned till the next day in the Afternoon; the Lords being in so great apprehension upon notice of the King's being at the House of Commons, that the Earl of *Essex* expressed a tender sense he had of the Inconveniences which were like to ensue those Divisions; and moved, “ that the House of Peers, as a work
“ very proper for them, would interpose between
“ the King and his People; and Mediate to his
“ Majesty on the behalf of the Persons accused;” for which he was reprehended by his Friends, and afterwards Laughed at himself, when he found how much a stronger Defence they had, than the best Mediation could prove on Their behalf.

How secretly soever this Affair was carried, it was evident that the King's resolution of coming to the House had been discovered, by the Members withdrawing themselves, and by a Composedness, which appeared in the countenances of many, who used to be disturbed at less Surprising Occurrences; and though the purpose of accusing the Members was only consulted between the King and the Lord *Digby*; yet it was generally believed, that the King's purpose of going to the House, was communicated to *William Murray* of the Bed-Chamber, with whom the Lord *Digby* had great Friendship; and that it was discovered by Him. And that Lord, who had promised the King to move the House for the Commitment of the Lord *Kimbolton*, as soon as the Attorney General should have accused him (which if he had done would probably have raised a very hot Dispute in the House, where many would have joined with him) never spoke the least word; but, on the contrary, seemed the most surprised, and perplexed with the Attorney's Impeachment; and sitting at that time next the Lord *Kimbolton*, with whom he pretended to live with much Friendship, he whispered him in the ear with some commotion (as he had a rare talent in Diffimulation) "that the King was very Mischievously advised; and that it should go very hard, but he would know, whence that Counsel proceeded; in order to which, and to prevent further Mischief, he would go immediately to his Majesty;" and so went out of the House.

Whereas He was the Only Person who gave the

B O O K Counsel, Named the Persons, and particularly the
 IV. Lord *Kimbolton* (against whom less could be said, than against many others, and who was more generally beloved) and undertook to prove that the said Lord *Kimbolton* told the Rabble, when they were about the Parliament-House, that they should go to *White-Hall*. When he found the ill success of the Impeachment in both Houses, and how unsatisfied all were with the proceeding; he advised the King the next Morning to go to the *Guild Hall*, and to inform the Mayor and Aldermen of the Grounds of his Proceedings; which will be mentioned anon. And that People might not believe, that there was any dejection of mind or sorrow for what was done; the same Night, the same Council caused a Proclamation to be prepared for the stopping the Ports; that the accused persons might not escape out of the Kingdom; and to forbid all persons to receive and harbour them; when it was well known, that they were all together in a house in the City, without any fear of their Security. And all this was done without the least communication with any body, but the Lord *Digby*, who advised it; and it is very true, was so willing to take the utmost hazard upon himself; that he did offer the King, when he knew in what house they were together, with a select company of Gentlemen, who would accompany him, whereof Sir *Thomas Lunsford* was one, to Seize upon them, and bring them away Alive, or leave them Dead in the place: but the King liked not such Enterprises.

The Persons
 accused re-

That Night, the Persons accused removed themselves into their Strong-Hold, the City: not that

they durst not venture themselves at their old Lodgings, for no man would have presumed to trouble them, but that the City might see, that they relied upon that Place for a Sanctuary of their Privileges against Violence and Oppression; and so might put on an early Concernment for them. And they were not disappointed; for in spite of all the Lord Mayor could do to compose their Distempers (who like a very wise, and stout Magistrate bestirred himself) the City was that whole Night in Arms; some people, designed to that purpose, running from one Gate to another, and crying out, "that the *Cavaliers* were coming to fire the City;" and some saying, "that the King himself was in the head of Them.

The next Morning, the King being informed of much that had passed that Night, according to the Advice he had received, sent to the Lord Mayor to call a Common Council immediately; and, about ten of the Clock, himself, attended only by three or four Lords, went to the *Guild-Hall*; and in the Room, where the People were assembled, told them, "He was very sorry to hear of the Apprehensions, they had entertained of Danger; " that He was come to Them, to show how much he relied upon their Affections for his Security, " and Guard, having brought no other with him; " that he had accused certain men of High Treason, " against whom he would proceed in a Legal way; " and therefore he presumed they would not shelter them in the City." And using many other very

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move into
the City.The King goes
into the City
and speaks to
the Citizens.

B O O K IV. Gracious Expressions of his value for them, and telling one of the Sheriffs (who was of the Two thought less inclined to his Service) “ that he “ would Dine with him ,” he departed without that Applause and Cheerfulness, which he might have expected from the extraordinary Grace he vouchsafed to them. And in his passage through the City, the Rude People flocked together, and cried out, *Privilege of Parliament, Privilege of Parliament*; some of them pressing very near his own Coach, and amongst the rest one calling out with a very loud Voice, *To your Tents O Jffrael*. However the King, though much Mortified, continued his Resolution, taking little notice of the Distempers; and, having Dined at the Sheriff’s, returned in the Afternoon to *White-Hall*; and published, the next day, a Proclamation, for the Apprehension of all Those, whom he had accused of High-Treason, forbidding any person to Harbour them; the Articles of their Charge being likewise Printed, and dispersed.

When the House of Commons next met, none of the Accused Members appearing, They had Friends enough, who were well instructed to aggravate the late proceedings, and to put the House into a Thousand Jealousies, and Apprehensions, and every slight Circumstance carried weight enough in it to disturb their Minds. They took very little notice of the Accusing the Members; but the King’s coming to the House, which had been Never known before, and Declaring, “ that he would take Them, “ wherever he Found Them, was an Evidence, “ that he meant Himself to have brought a Force

“ into the House to Apprehend them, if they had
 “ been there .” and was looked upon as the highest
 Breach of Privilege, that could possibly be imagined.
 They who spoke most Passionately, and probably
 meant as Maliciously, behaved themselves with
 Modesty, and seemed only concerned in what con-
 cerned them All; and concluded, after many La-
 mentations, “ that they did not think themselves
 “ Safe in that House, till the Minds of men were
 “ better Composed ; that the City was full of Appre-
 “ hensions, and was very Zealous for their Security,
 “ and therefore wished, that they might Adjourn
 “ the Parliament to meet in some place in the City.”
 But that was found not Practicable ; since it was not
 in their own Power to do it, without the Consent
 of the Peers, and the Concurrence of the King ;
 who were Both like rather to chuse a place more
 distant from the City. So, with more Reason, in
 the end they concluded, “ that the House should
 “ Adjourn itself for two or three days, and name a
 “ Committee, who should sit both Morning and
 “ Afternoon in the City ;” and All who came to have
 Voices : and *Merchant-Taylors-Hall* was appointed
 for the place of their meeting ; They who Served
 for *London*, undertaking, “ that it should be ready
 “ against the next Morning :” no Man opposing or
 contradicting any thing that was said ; They, who
 formerly used to appear for all the Rights and Au-
 thority which belonged to the King, not knowing
 what to say, between Grief and Anger, that the
 Violent Party had by these late unskilful actions of
 the Court, gotten great Advantage, and recovered

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The House of
 Commons
 adjourning
 Themselves
 for some
 days, name a
 Committee
 to sit in the
 City.

B O O K new Spirits: and the Three Persons before named,
IV. without whose Privy the King had Promised that he would enter upon no Counsel, were so much displeased and dejected, that they were inclined, never more to take upon them the Care of any thing to be transacted in the House; finding already, that they could not avoid being looked upon as the Authors of those Counsels, to which they were so absolute Strangers, and which they so perfectly Detested.

And in truth, They had then withdrawn themselves from appearing often in the House, but upon the abstracted consideration of their Duty and Conscience, and of the present ill condition the King was in; who likewise felt within himself the Trouble and Agony, which usually attends Generous and Magnanimous Minds upon their having committed Errors, which expose them to Censure, and to Damage. In fine, the House of Commons Adjourned for some days, to consult with their Friends in the City; and the House of Lords held so good Correspondence with them, that they likewise Adjourned to the same Days they knew, by some Intelligence, the Commons intended to meet again. But the Lords made no Committee to sit in the City.

The Lords
 likewise
 Adjourning
 for the same
 days. -

The Trans-
 actions of the
 Committee in
 the City.

When the Committee met the next Morning at *Merchant-Taylors-Hall*, where All who came were to have Voices, and whither All did come at first, out of Curiosity to observe what Method they meant to proceed in, rather than Expectation that they should be able to do any Good there; they found a Guard ready to attend them, of Substantial Citizens in Arms, and a Committee from the Com-

mon-Council, to bid them Welcome into the City; and to Assure them, “ that the City would take
 “ Care, that They, and all their Members should
 “ be Secured from Violence; and to that purpose
 “ had appointed That Guard to attend them, which
 “ should be always Relieved twice a day, if they
 “ resolved to sit Morning and Afternoon:” and acquainted them further, “ that the Common-Council,
 “ in contemplation that they might stand in want
 “ of any thing, had likewise appointed a Committee
 “ of so many Aldermen, and such a number of the
 “ Common-Council, which should meet always at
 “ a place named, at those Hours, which that Committee should appoint to meet at; to the end,
 “ that if any thing were to be required of the City,
 “ they might still know their Pleasure, and take
 “ Care that it should be Obeyed.” Thus they had provided for such a mutual Communication and Confederacy, that they might be sure always to be of one Mind, and the One to help the Other in the Prosecution of those Designs and Expedients, which they should find necessary to their Common end: the Committee of the City consisting of the most Eminent Persons, Aldermen and others, for their disaffection to the Government of Church and State.

At their first Sitting, the Committee begun with the stating the Manner of the King’s coming to the House, and all he did there; the several Members mentioning all that they would take upon them to remember of his Majesty’s Doing or Speaking, both as he came to the House, and after he was there; some of them being walking in *Westminster-Hall*

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when the King walked through, and so came to the House with him, or near him; others reporting, what they heard some of the Great Men, who attended his Majesty, say, as they passed by; every idle word having it's Commentary; and the Persons, whoever were named, being appointed to attend, they having Power given them to send for all Persons, and to Examine them touching that Affair. Nor had any Man the Courage to refuse to Obey their Summons; so that all those of the King's Servants, who were sent for, appeared punctually at the hour that was assigned them; and were Examined upon all Questions, which any one of the Committee would propose to them, whereof many were very Impertinent, and of little respect to the King.

It was very well known where the Accused Persons were, all together in one House in *Coleman-Street*, near the place where the Committee Sat; and whither Persons trusted passed to and fro to communicate, and receive Directions; but it was not Seasonable for them Yet to appear in Public, and to come and sit with the Committee, or to own the believing, that they thought themselves safe from the Violence, and the Assaults of the Court; the Power whereof they exceedingly Contemned, whilst they seemed to Apprehend it; nor was it yet time to Model in what manner their Friends in the City, and the Country, should appear concerned for them, in preparing whereof no time was lost.

Against the day the House was to meet, the first Adjournment not being for above two or three days, the Committee had prepared Matter enough

for a Report; a Relation of all they had discovered upon their Examinations, and such Votes, as they thought fit to offer upon the breach of their Privilege; that they might thereby discover the Affections of the House, of which they could not yet take any measure, seeing there had been no Debate since those Accidents, which could discover the General Temper; which they well enough knew, was not before to their Advantage. In the mean time, they used all the ways they could to Asperse those, who used to Oppose them, as the Contrivers of the late Proceedings; and were willing they should know it; which they imagined, would restrain them from taking the same Liberty they had used to do.

And so at Their meeting in the House, upon the Report of the Committee, they declared, "That
 " the King's Coming to the House, and Demanding
 " the Persons of divers Members thereof to be delivered unto Him, was a high Breach of the Rights
 " and Privileges of Parliament; and Inconsistent
 " with the Liberty and Freedom thereof; and therefore that they could not with the Safety of their
 " own Persons, or the Indemnity of the Rights and
 " Privileges of Parliament, Sit there any longer,
 " without a full Vindication of so high a Breach, and
 " a sufficient Guard, wherein they might Confide;
 " and for that reason, did Order, that their House
 " should be again Adjourned for four days; and
 " that the Committee should meet in the same place,
 " to Consider and Resolve of all things, that might
 " concern the Good and Safety of the City, and

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Votes of the
House of
Commons upon
their first
meeting again.

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“ the Kingdom; and particularly, How their Privileges might be Vindicated, and their Persons Secured; and should have Power to Consult and Advise with any Person, or Persons touching the Premises.” And, this Order and Declaration being made, they Adjourned: the last Clause being intended to bring their Members to them.

At the Meeting of the House, the Committee had informed them, First of the great Civilities, they had received from the City in all the particulars, that they might have Order to return the Thanks of the Whole House, which they easily obtained; and, at their return, they took more Examinations than they had formerly, by which they made a fuller Relation of the King's Coming to the House, and his Carriage and Words there. And because it was visible to all Men, that the King was so far from bringing any Force with Him, which they desired it should be believed he had brought, that he had only his Guard of Halberdiers, and fewer of them, than used to go with Him on any ordinary Motion; and that fewer of his Gentlemen-Servants were Then with him, than usually attended him when he went but to walk in the Park; and had only their Little Swords; they were very punctual in mentioning any Light or Loose Words, which had fallen from any Man, that it might be believed, that there was more in the Matter. As they carefully inserted in their Relation, that one of the Waiters, as he walked very near his Majesty through the Hall, said, “ he had a good Pistol in his Pocket;” and that Another, as they were

walking up the Stairs towards the House of Commons, called out, *Fall on*; from which they would have it believed, that there had been very Bloody intentions. BOOK IV.

Then They proposed some Votes to be offered to the House, in which they Voted “ the Relation, “ which was made, to be true; and thereupon, “ that the King’s Coming to the House was the “ highest Breach of the Privilege of Parliament, “ that could be made; and that the Arresting, or “ endeavouring to Arrest, any Member of Parliament was a high Breach of their Privilege; and “ that the Person, who was so Arrested, might lawfully Rescue, and Redeem himself; and that all, “ who were Present, and saw the Privilege of Parliament so Violated, might, and ought to Assist “ the injured Person in his Defence, and to procure “ his Liberty with Force.” And these Votes the House Confirmed, when they were Reported. Though, in the Debate, it was told them, “ That “ they must take heed, that they did not out of “ Tendernefs of their Privilege, which was, and “ must be very precious to every Man, extend it “ further, than the Law would suffer it to be extended: that the House had always been very “ severe upon the Breach of any of their Privileges, “ and in the Vindicating those Members, who “ were injured; but that the disposing men to make “ Themselves Judges, and to Rescue themselves “ or others, might be of evil Consequence, and “ produce ill Effects; at least if it should fall out to “ be; that the Persons were Arrested for Treason,

B O O K “ or Felony, or Breach of the Peace; in either of
 IV. “ which Cases, there could be no Privilege of Par-
 “ liament This, though a known Truth to any,
 who knew any thing of the Law, was received with
 Noise and Clamor, and with wonderful evidence
 of Dislike, and some faint Contradictions, “ that
 “ no Such thing ought to be done, whilst a Parli-
 “ ament was Sitting:” and then, falling upon the
 late Action of the King, and the Merit of those
 Persons, and without much Contradiction, which
 was found to be ungrateful, the House Confirmed
 all that the Committee had Voted; and then Ad-
 journed again for some days, and Ordered the
 Committee to meet again in the City; which they
 did Morning and Afternoon; and prepared other
 Votes of a brighter Allay, and more in the face of
 the King, and the Law, every day adding to the
 Fury and Fierceness of the precedent. The House
 met and Sat, only to Confirm the Votes which
 were Passed by the Committee, and to prosecute
 such Matters, as were by Concert brought to them,
 by Petition from the City; which was ready to
 Advance any thing, they were directed; and so
 whilst the Members yet kept themselves Concealed,
 many particulars of great Importance were transacted
 in those short Sitzings of the House.

The King about this time, having found the In-
 convenience and Mischief to himself of having no
 Servant of Interest and Reputation, and who took
 his business to Heart, in the House of Commons,
 had made the Lord *Falkland* and Sir *John Colepepper*,
 both Members of that House, and of unblemished

Reputations and confessed Abilities, of his Privy-
 Council; and the one, the Lord *Falkland*, his Prin-
 cipal Secretary of State, and Sir *John Colepepper*,
 Chancellor of the Exchequer; as is said before. And
 so, having now gotten two Counsellors about him,
 who durst Trust one another, and who were Both
 fit to be Trusted by Him, which he had been with-
 out above a Year past, to His, and the Kingdom's
 irreparable Disadvantage; He thought fit to Publish
 a Declaration to all his Subjects, in Answer to the
 Remonstrance, he had lately received from the House
 of Commons, and was dispersed throughout the
 Kingdom. In which, without the least Sharpness or
 return of the Language he had received; he took
 notice "of the Fears, and Jealousies (for those were
 the New words, which served to Justify all indis-
 positions, and to excuse all Disorders) " which
 " made Impression in the Minds of his People, with
 " reference to their Religion, their Liberty, or
 " their Civil Interests.

The King's
 Answer to
 the House of
 Commons
 former Re-
 monstrance.

" As to their Religion, He observed the Fears to
 " be of Two sorts; either as Ours here Established
 " might be invaded by the Roman Party; or as it
 " was accompanied with some Ceremonies, at
 " which some tender Consciences, or Really
 " were, or Pretended to be Scandalized. For the
 " first, as there might be any suspicion of Favor or
 " Inclination to the Papists, he said, he was willing
 " to Declare to all the World, that, as he had been
 " brought up from his Childhood in, and practised
 " that Religion, which was Established in the
 " Church of *England*; so he believed he could,

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“ having given a good part of his time and pains
 “ to the Examination of the Grounds of it, as it
 “ Differed from that of *Rome*, maintain the same
 “ by Unanswerable Reasons; and hoped he should
 “ be ready to Seal it with the effusion of his Blood,
 “ if it should please God to call him to that Sacri-
 “ fice: and that nothing could be so acceptable to
 “ him, as any Proposition, which might contribute
 “ to the Advancement of it Here, or the Propaga-
 “ tion of it Abroad; this being the greatest means
 “ to draw down a Blessing from God upon himself,
 “ and this Nation; and if this Profession of his was
 “ wanting to his People, he thought himself extre-
 “ mely Unfortunate, for that his constant Practice
 “ in his own Person had always been, without
 “ Ostentation, as much to evidence his Care and
 “ Duty therein, as he could possibly tell how to
 “ exprefs.

“ As for matters of Ceremony, He said, he would,
 “ in Tendernefs to any number of his loving Sub-
 “ jects, be willing to comply with the advice of
 “ his Parliament, that some Law should be made
 “ for the exemption of tender Consciences from
 “ punishment or prosecution for neglecting such
 “ Ceremonies; and in such Cases, which by the
 “ judgment of most men are held to be matters
 “ Indifferent, and of some to be absolutely Unlawful.
 “ Provided, that that Case should be attempted,
 “ and pursued with that Modesty, Temper, and
 “ Submission, that in the mean time the Peace,
 “ and Quiet of the Kingdom should not be disturbed,
 “ the Decency, and Comeliness of God's Service
 “ not discountenanced; nor the Pious, Sober, and

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“ Devout actions of those Reverend persons, who
“ were the first Laborers in the blessed Reforma-
“ tion, or of that time, be Scandalized, and De-
“ famed. For, he said, he could not without Grief
“ of Heart, and without some Tax upon himself
“ and his Ministers for the not executing of the
“ Laws, look upon the bold Licence of some men
“ in Printing of Pamphlets, in Preaching and Print-
“ ing of Sermons so full of bitterness and malice
“ against the present Government, against the Laws
“ Established; so full of Sedition against his own
“ Person, and the Peace of the Kingdom; that he
“ was many times amazed to consider by what Eyes
“ those things were Seen, and by what Ears they
“ were Heard.

“ Concerning the Civil Liberties and Interests of
“ the Subjects, He said, he should need say the less,
“ having erected so many lasting Monuments of his
“ Princely and Fatherly care of his People, in those
“ excellent Laws passed by him this Parliament;
“ which, with very much Content to himself, he
“ said, he conceived to be so Large and Ample,
“ that very many Sober men had little left to wish
“ for of that Kind. He told them, he very well
“ understood the Rights and particular Advantages,
“ he had Departed from in many of the Acts he had
“ passed; and therefore he had reason to hope, as he
“ had taken all Occasions to render Their condition
“ most Comfortable and Happy; so They would, in
“ grateful and dutiful return, be always ready with
“ equal Tendernefs and Alacrity to advance His
“ Rights, and prefer His Honor, upon which their

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“ own Security and Subsistence so much depended;
 “ and no particular should be presented unto him for
 “ the Completing, and Establishing that Security,
 “ to the which he would not with the same readiness
 “ contribute his best Assistance. He said, if those
 “ Resolutions were the effects of his present Coun-
 “ sels, and he took God to Witness that they were
 “ such, and that his Subjects might confidently
 “ expect the Benefit of them from him, certainly no
 “ ill Design upon the Public could accompany such
 “ Resolutions; neither could there be great cause
 “ of suspicion of any Persons preferred by him to
 “ degrees of Honor, and places of Trust and Em-
 “ ployment, since this Parliament: and therefore,
 “ that amongst his Misfortunes he reckoned it not
 “ the Least, that, having not retained in his Service,
 “ nor Protected any One person, against whom the
 “ Parliament had Excepted, during the whole Sit-
 “ ting of it, and having in all that time scarce vouch-
 “ safed to any Man an instance of his Favor or Grace,
 “ but to Such who were under some eminent Cha-
 “ racter of Estimation amongst the People, there
 “ should so soon be a mis-understanding or jealousy
 “ of their Fidelity and Uprightness; especially in a
 “ time, when he took all occasions to Declare, that
 “ he conceived himself capable of being served only
 “ by Honest Men, and in Honest Ways.

“ However, if He had been mistaken in such his
 “ Election, the Particulars should no sooner be dis-
 “ covered to him, either by His own Observation,
 “ or other certain Information, than he would leave
 “ them to Public Justice, under the marks of his

“ Displeasure. If notwithstanding this, any Malig- B O O K
 “ nant Party should take heart, and be willing to IV.
 “ Sacrifice the Peace and Happiness of their Coun-
 “ try to their own Sinister Ends and Ambitions,
 “ under what pretence of Religion and Conscience
 “ soever; if they should endeavour to lessen his Re-
 “ putation and Interest, and to weaken his Lawful
 “ Power and Authority with his good Subjects; if
 “ they should go about, by discountenancing the
 “ present Laws, to loosen the bonds of Govern-
 “ ment, that all Disorder and Confusion might
 “ break in, He doubted not, but God in His good
 “ Time would discover Them; and the Wisdom,
 “ and Courage of his High-Court of Parliament
 “ would join with him in their Suppression, and
 “ Punishment.

“ Having said all He could, to express the clear-
 “ ness and uprightness of his Intentions, and done
 “ all he could to manifest those Intentions, He said,
 “ he could not but confidently believe, all his good
 “ Subjects would acknowledge His part to be fully
 “ performed, both in Deeds past, and present Re-
 “ solutions to Do, what with Justice might be re-
 “ quired of him; and that their Quiet and Prosperity
 “ now depended wholly on Themselves, and was
 “ in Their own Power, by yielding all Obedience
 “ and due Reverence to the Law; which is the In-
 “ heritance of every Subject, and the only Security
 “ he can have for his Life, Liberty, and Estate; and
 “ the which being neglected or disesteemed, under
 “ what Specious shows soever, a great measure of
 “ Infelicity, if not an irreparable Confusion, must

B O O K “ without doubt fall upon them. And he doubted
IV. “ not, it would be the most acceptable Declaration
“ a King could make to his Subjects, that he was
“ not only resolved to keep the Laws himself, but
“ to maintain them against what Opposition soever,
“ though with the hazard of his Being. He hoped
“ the Loyalty, and good Affections of all his Sub-
“ jects, would Concur with him in the constant
“ preserving a good Understanding between Him
“ and his People; and that their own Interest, and
“ Compassion of the lamentable Condition of the
“ poor Protestants in *Ireland*, would invite them
“ to a fair Intelligence and Unity amongst Them.
“ selves; that so they might, with one heart, intend
“ the relieving, and recovering of that unhappy
“ Kingdom; where those barbarous Rebels practised
“ such inhuman and unheard of Outrages upon the
“ miserable People, that no Christian Ear could hear
“ without horror, or Story parallel. He concluded
“ with conjuring all his good Subjects, of what
“ Degree or Quality soever, by all the bonds of Love,
“ Duty, and Obedience, that are precious to Good
“ Men, to join with him for the recovery of the
“ Peace of That Kingdom, and the preservation
“ of the Peace of This; to remove all the Doubts
“ and Fears, which might interrupt their Affection
“ to Him, and all their Jealousies and Apprehensions,
“ which might lessen their Charity to each Other;
“ and then, He said, if the Sins of the Nation had not
“ prepared an inevitable Judgment for all, God
“ would make him a great and glorious King over
“ a Free and Happy People.”

Though this Declaration had afterwards a very good influence upon the People, to his Majesty's advantage; yet for the present it gave no allay to their Distempers. Their Seditious Ministers were despatched to inflame the Neighbour-Counties, and all possible Art was used to inflame the City of *London*; which prevailed so far, that notwithstanding all the opposition the Lord Mayor of *London*, the Recorder, and the gravest and most substantial Aldermen could make, the Major part of the Common Council prevailed to send a Petition to the King, in the name of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of *London*; which was the next Sunday Morning delivered to him, with great Solemnity, at *White-Hall* by a Number chosen of that Body: "Representing
 " the great Dangers, Fears, and Distractions, the City
 " then was in, by reason of the prevailing progress
 " of the Bloody Rebels of *Ireland*; the putting out
 " of persons of Honor and Trust from being Con-
 " stable and Lieutenant of the Tower, especially in
 " those times, and the preparations there lately made;
 " the fortifying *White-Hall* with Men, and Ammuni-
 " tion in an unusual manner; some of which Men
 " abused, and wounded divers Citizens passing by;
 " the calling in divers Canoneers, and other Assist-
 " ance into the Tower; the discovery of divers
 " Fire-works in the hands of Papists, and the mis-
 " understanding between his Majesty, and the Par-
 " liament. That their Fears were exceedingly in-
 " creased by his Majesty's late going into the House
 " of Commons, attended by a multitude of Armed
 " Men, for the apprehending of divers Members of

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 IV.

The City
 Petitions the
 King.

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IV. “ that House, to the endangering his own Person;
“ and the Persons, and Privileges of that Honorable
“ Assembly. That the effects of those Fears tended
“ not only to the overthrow of the whole Trade of
“ that City and Kingdom, which they felt already
“ in a deep measure, but threatened the utter ruin
“ of the Protestant Religion, and the Lives and
“ Liberties of all his Subjects; and therefore they
“ prayed his Majesty, that by the Advice of his
“ great Council in Parliament, the Protestants in
“ *Ireland* might be speedily relieved; the Tower
“ put into the hands of Persons of Trust; that by the
“ removal of doubtful and unknown Persons from
“ about *White-Hall*, and *Westminster*, a known and
“ approved Guard might be appointed for the Safety
“ of his Majesty, and the Parliament; and that the
“ Lord *Kimbolton*, and the Five Members of the
“ House of Commons lately accused, might not be
“ restrained of Liberty, or otherwise proceeded
“ against, than according to the Privileges of Par-
“ liament.”

The King very well understood from what Spirit this Petition proceeded, and the inconvenience of giving so much countenance to it, as the very receiving it was, if he could have avoided it. But the Torrent was too strong to be resisted by any direct strength he could raise against it; and therefore he resolved to endeavour to divide and reduce them, by the most gracious descending to their pretended Fears, and Apprehensions; and the same day, gave them this Answer; “ That for the sad business of *Ire-*
“ *land*, he could not possibly express a greater sense

“ than he had done, there being nothing left on
“ His part Unoffered, or Undone. For the Tower,
“ he wondered that having removed a Servant of
“ Trust from that Charge, only to satisfy the Fears
“ of the City, and put in another of unquestionable
“ Reputation and known ability, the Petitioners
“ should still entertain those Fears; and whatsoever
“ preparation of strength was there made was with
“ as great an eye of Safety and advantage to the City,
“ as to his own Person, and should be equally em-
“ ployed to both.

“ For the fortifying *White-Hall* with men, and
“ Ammunition in an unusual way, He doubted not,
“ that they had observed the strange provocation he
“ had received to entertain that Guard; that, by the
“ disorderly and tumultuous conflux of People at
“ *Westminster* and *White-Hall*, his great Council was
“ not only disquieted, but his own Royal Person in
“ Danger; most Seditious language being uttered
“ even under his own windows. And if any Citizens
“ had been wounded, or ill treated, he was con-
“ fidently assured, that it had happened by their own
“ evil and corrupt Demeanours. For the Fire-works
“ in the hands of a Papist, he knew nothing, nor
“ understood Whom, or What They meant.

“ For his going to the House of Commons, when
“ his Attendants were no otherwise armed than as
“ Gentlemen with Swords, He was persuaded, that
“ if they knew the clear grounds, upon which Those
“ Persons stood accused of High-Treason, and what
“ could be proved against them, with which they
“ should in due time be acquainted, and considered
“ the Gentle way he took for their Apprehension

B O O K

IV.

“ (which he preferred before any course of Violence, though that way had been very Justifiable; since it was notoriously known that no Privilege of Parliament can extend to Treason, Felony, or breach of Peace) they would believe his going thither was an Act of grace and favor to that House, and the most peaceable way of having that necessary Service performed; there being such Orders made for the resistance of what Authority soever for their Apprehension: and for the proceedings against those persons, he ever intended the same should be with all justice and favor, according to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm; to which all Innocent men would cheerfully submit. And this extraordinary way of satisfying a Petition of so unusual a Nature, he said, he was confident would be thought the greatest instance, could be given, of his clear intentions to his Subjects; and of the singular esteem he had of the good affections of that City, which he hoped in Gratitude would never be wanting to his just commands and service.”

It was no wonder, that they, who at Such a time could be corrupted to frame, and deliver Such a Petition, would not be reformed by such an Answer. Neither will it be here unseasonable, to spend a little time in considering how the affections and tempers of so rich and opulent a City, which could naturally expect to prosper only by Peace, and agreement, were wrought upon, and transported, to that degree, as to be the chief Instruments of its own, and the Kingdom's destruction.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

